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Supernatural Local Legends of Saxon and Szekely Transylvania.

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SUPERNATURAL LOCAL LEGENDS

OF

SAXON AND SZÉKELY TRANSYLVANIA

A Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation is based on 285 local legends collected by Friedrich Müller and Balázs Orbán among the Saxon and Székely villagers of nineteenth century Transylvania. Focusing on the supernatural characters that appear in the legends, the author discusses giants, tündérek (a Hungarian mythical figure), witches, sorcerers, ghosts, devils, divine forces and other imaginary creatures of lesser importance as they existed in the traditions and beliefs of the two ethnic groups. Treasure and bell legends also receive attention with regard to their supernatural aspect.

After examining supernatural local legends in general, the author divides them into mythical and superstitious, according to whether or not the legends' carriers believed in the existence of the characters in question. On the basis of the broad corpus presented he then shows that the Saxons favored superstitious legends while the Székelys largely rejected them. He demonstrates further that seven centuries of coexistence in the same geo-historical environment did not produce a mutual influence of the two groups on each other as far as their local legends are concerned, and attempts to give a partial explanation for this fact by examining the exchange effect

between Christianity and Saxon and Székely folklore, respectively. Thus, while the dissertation deals essentially with folklore, with local legends, its focus is not only on the folkloristic material per se, but also on the cultural groups that carried it. It is axiomatic to the study that it is erroneous to divorce local legends from the groups that bear them, or from the context in which they are found among such groups in time and in space.

I. INTRODUCTION

The study of folklore has, in the twentieth century, become a well-established discipline in its own right, with a rather precisely defined sphere of interest and specific, scientific work methods. While not so long ago folkloristics was practiced only on the fringes of several other fields of inquiry, there are chairs, departments and institutes of folklore all over the world today which enjoy generous private and public support, including that of several national governments.

The advances that have been made in method and in quantity of achievement in gathering, preserving, organizing and analyzing the musical, decorative, behavioral and oral traditions of mankind in the last generation or two are very substantial. The greatest progress has been achieved in the study of the various sorts of oral tradition: these have been carefully hoarded, catalogued, indexed and reduced to a system of morphological and structural analysis, so that today it is possible to deal more or less efficiently with this vast amount of information, at least from certain aspects.

All this is as laudable as it was necessary, but the development of folkloristics into a specialty also has

produced a regrettable narrowness of focus, as all specialization is inclined to do. Scholars have become interested only in the tales per se and have treated them largely as if they were objects, as if they had an existence apart from the people that bore them. Attempts have been made to trace their courses spatially and chronologically in an effort to pinpoint their origins and to formulate laws according to which they allegedly behave. Nations have made them into their jealously guarded property and have quarreled about who stole what, from whom. And the ultimate step toward their objectivization is about to be taken: the tales are to be transformed into numbers, electromagnetic pulses that can be stored on a ribbon of acetate. Such aims of scholarship are valid in themselves, but the researcher ought never to forget that with folklore above all else "the proper study of mankind is man."

A. The Aims of the Study

A little over a century ago two Transylvanians became interested in their homeland and the people inhabiting it. Working independently and without knowing each other, with similar methods but toward divergent goals in two separate, well-delimited, contiguous geographic areas and among two distinct ethnic groups, they recorded one of the most extensive collections of local legends there is on hand for their time, an age in which interest in

true folklore was just awakening and had hardly been heard of in their corner of the world. One was a Saxon, the other a Székely; the one a preacher and teacher, the other a scientist and adventurer; the one a burgher, the other a baron. Both were to become statesmen, one of them a bishop. Fate made them enemies and time defeated both: the political causes they championed have been forgotten long ago, as they themselves have been, even in their own homeland.

What they left behind is a treasury of the local legends of their peoples, a treasury that has become all but obliterated in the interim. Two terrible wars have thundered through the Transylvanian valleys since then, displacing borders and shifting populations, bringing new men, new ways and new legends, while chasing off the old. Were it not for the work of Bishop Friedrich Müller and Baron Balázs Orbán, the legends they recorded would be lost to us forever.

This study is focused on those items they recorded that make mention of supernatural characters in which the Saxons and Székelys once believed. In it the writer will analyze the legends and the characters of the two ethnic groups and compare them with each other, but his main concern will be more with the people who told the tales. The investigation is an attempt to determine what the collective beliefs of the Saxons and the Székelys were

like with respect to the supernatural in the nineteenth century and what they may have been like before, with a view toward establishing what similarities and what differences a near millenium of coexistence in a common country, a common history and, above all, a common religion, caused or left unaltered in the supernatural world view of their common men. For the Saxons and Székelys are a peculiar case: they lived on a more or less remote island on the easternmost frontier of the West, away from the effect of close contact with larger cultural groups that could have dominated or assimilated either or both. Nineteenth century Transylvania presents an almost ideal subject for a cross-cultural study of this kind, because the factor of outside "contamination," though present, of necessity played a lesser role here than in other lands, closer to the mainstream of Western-Christian civilization.

The raw material for this study derives from Friedrich Müller, Siebenbürgische Sagen (Wien, 1885) and Balázs Orbán, A Székelyföld leirása, történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból (A Description of the Székelyföld[1] from an Historical, Archeological, Natural-Historical and Ethnological Viewpoint), 6 volumes (Pest, 1868-74). These works will be discussed and described in detail below.

[1]Székelyföld /sékejføld/--the Székely land.

B. The Local Legend

The subject-matter of this study falls into a sub-category of the folktale commonly labeled *local legend* in English. Because of certain difficulties peculiar to it and because in general it is not nearly so fascinating an object of study as other, more complex, categories of oral narrative, the local legend has not received the scholarly attention it would seem properly to deserve.[2] Indeed this is hardly surprising: most approaches to the folktale have proceeded from the standpoint that it constituted a type of literature and would therefore lend itself either to literary or--in recent times--to structural analysis. But the local legend is the least "literary" kind of folk-narrative, and as for structure, it has demonstrably very little. The only thing of interest about the local legend is, in fact, its content; only this makes it worth considering scientifically at all.[3]

It is easier to give examples of the local legend than to define the *genre*, in spite of its apparent simplicity. Many definitions have been suggested, but none

[2]For a summary of the current status of legend research in general, see Leander Petzoldt, ed., *Vergleichende Sagenforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969).

[3]This statement represents the prevailing view among folk-narrative researchers. For a dissenting opinion, see Friedrich-Wilhelm Schmidt, "Die Volkssage als Kunstwerk," *Niederdeutsche Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 7 (1929), 129-43 and 230-44. Rpt. in *Vergleichende Sagenforschung*, pp. 21-65.

has found general acceptance to date, because there are so many possible ways of looking at folktales overall. "With the folktale as with all other products of man's artistic endeavor," writes Stith Thompson, "the scholar runs the risk of too subtle analysis." And anyone even slightly familiar with the field will applaud him when he adds: "Much hair-splitting has taken place in the past and much useless effort devoted to the establishment of exact terms . . .."[4]

German research uses Sage for much the same thing, but rather more broadly. Lutz Röhrich, a contemporary expert on the subject, states: "Das deutsche Wort 'Sage' lässt sich im Grunde nicht übersetzen. Im Unterschied zu englisch 'legend' betont es die mündliche Überlieferung, das was 'gesagt' wird." But this tells us exactly nothing: anything passed on by word of mouth is "das was 'gesagt' wird." He adds:

> Trotz des deutschen Ausdrucks ist "Sage" aber ursprünglich kein Begriff der volkstümlichen Tradition selbst. Erst die Brüder Grimm haben den Ausdruck . . . bekannt gemacht; ihre Begriffsbildung wurde übernommen und ist im

[4]Stith Thompson, The Folktale (New York: Dryden Press, 1946), p. 7. Two decades later, another scholar could still write: "Die Folkloristik kann bis heute weder ein allgemein brauchbares Klassifikationssystem der Volksprosagattungen noch ein internationales System der Fachausdrücke zur Bezeichnung ihrer wichtigsten Abarten aufweisen." K. V. Čistov, "Zur Frage der Klassifikationsprinzipien der Prosa-Volksdichtung." Vergleichende Sagenforschung, p. 337.

> Laufe der Zeit im Sinne der wissenschaftlichen Terminologie auch in die allgemeine Umgangssprache eingedrungen. Die Entwicklung der Forschung in den letzten Jahren hat dann gerade in deutschsprachigen Veröffentlichungen eine noch stärker differenzierte Terminologie hervorgebracht. Dabei hat man es allerdings vielfach versäumt, die Begriffe eindeutig zu definieren und klar voneinander abzugrenzen. Von einer Übereinkunft in terminologischer Hinsicht kann bisher noch nicht die Rede sein . . ..[5]

There seems, then, little hope of arriving at a good, general definition of the Sage. But let us turn back to Stith Thompson again. Discussing the Sage, he writes:

> English and French attempts to express the same idea are local tradition, local legend, and tradition populaire. This form of tale purports to be an account of an extraordinary happening believed to have actually occurred. It may recount a legend of something which happened in ancient times at a particular place--a legend that has attached itself to that locality, but which will also be told with equal conviction of many other places, even in remote parts of the world. It may tell of an encounter with marvelous creatures which the folk still believe in--fairies, ghosts, water spirits, the devil and the like. And it may give what has been handed down as a memory often fantastic or even absurd--of some historical character. The story of the Pied Piper of Hamelin, of the wild horseman Ichabod Crane, of old Barbarossa sleeping in the mountain, and the dozens of tales of Indian lovers' leaps all over America--all these are Sagen. It will be observed that they are nearly always simple in structure, usually containing but a single narrative motif.[6]

[5]Lutz Röhrich, Sagen, Sammlung Metzler, 55 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966), p. 1.

[6]Thompson, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

The essence of all this is that a legend "purports to be an account of an extraordinary happening, believed to have actually occurred." We can broaden it to say that it is told to elicit belief--whether or not it succeeds in doing so is beside the point.

But Thompson's statement, that the legend may attach itself to a particular place is not put strongly enough. If a legend is to be called local, it must be fixed to a definite location. And this brings us back to the German term of the Ortssage, which German scholarship has come to reject.

"Hinsichtlich der Verbreitung von Sagen," writes Röhrich, "ist der von Jacob Grimm eingeführte Begriff 'Ortssage' nicht präzise genug." He explains:

> Ortssagen sind nämlich im Grunde alle Sagen, einschliesslich der von den Grimms davon abgesonderten "Geschichtlichen Sagen," weil Sagen immer eine örtliche Anknüpfung aufweisen. Ortsangabe und lokalhistorische Anknüpfung machen eine Sage aber nicht notwendig zur Lokalsage; durch mündliche oder literarische Vermittlung können Ortssagen weite, sogar internationale Verbreitung erlangen. Entsprechend dem unterschiedlichen Verbreitungsgebiet der Volksprosa, spricht man von "Lokalsagen," "Stadtsagen," "Regionalsagen" und "Wandersagen" . . ..[7]

If we look at the Sage apart from its particular context (the place, time and commune in which it was recorded and in which it lived), Röhrich is quite right.

[7]Röhrich, op. cit., p. 2.

But if we consider the context an inseparable part of the local legend, his objection no longer holds.

If, for example, a villager tells of an unusual event and ascribes it to a certain time and a far-away geographic location, even to a village in the next county, this is not, for our purposes, a local legend, in spite of its geographic Anknüpfung. But when he reports that the event took place "right over there," on a specific hill, then our legend has in fact become local: our man is talking about his particular, immediate microcosm and he believes what he says, or at least can testify that his people, his commune, the group in which the legend has its existence, believe (or have believed) this to be so. Nor does it matter then that the same story is also told elsewhere: we are justified, in making our analysis, in counting and treating each occurrence separately. Each of them is, in fact, an Ortssage, a local legend (to be distinguished from the way Röhrich uses Lokalsage, which to him means single, isolated instances) in its own right.

Our treatment in no way excludes later abstraction to regional, national, etc. levels, or classification within the category by content, function, form or style. It merely serves to emphasize that any such abstraction must be made with the awareness that it consists of the sum of its parts--the individual local legends. These legends live only in their soil, never apart from it; on

the scholar's desk each is but a dead specimen.

We can then, with some certitude accept as at least a working definition the following statement: the local legend is an account, told to elicit belief, of an extraordinary event alleged to have taken place in the immediate microcosm of its carriers. We can add that, for the purposes of this study, the microcosm is the village or town and the carriers its collective inhabitants.

C. The Setting

Transylvania (German Siebenbürgen, Hungarian Erdély, Rumanian Ardeal or Transilvania) has historically had various, often vague limits, as part of the Hungarian Kingdom, as an independent state, and as a Habsburg crownland. For the purposes of this study, however, we shall adopt the current Rumanian-Hungarian definition, to mean the land area of about 103,000 square kilometers that Hungary was forced to cede to Rumania after World War I in the Treaty of Trianon and, after regaining part of it in the Treaty of Vienna, again after world War II at the Paris Conference. In terms of political subdivisions at the time we are dealing with--the 19th century--the area includes the following old Hungarian megyék and székek (counties and seats; the difference will be explained below). The German names of the Saxon seats appear in parentheses:

Counties: 1) Hunyad, 2) Belsőszolnok, 3) Doboka, 4) Kolozs, 5) Torda, 6) Küküllő, 7) Alsófehér, 8) Felsőfehér, 9) Fogaras (region), and parts of 10) Máramaros, 11) Szatmár, 12) Bihar, 13) Csanád and 14) Torontál.

Seats: 1) Aranyos, 2) Maros, 3) Udvarhely, 4) Csik, 5) Háromszék, 6) Kőhalom (Reps), 7) Segesvár (Schässburg), 8) Nagysink (Grossschenk), 9) Medgyes (Mediasch), 10) Ujegyház (Neukirch), 11) Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt), 12) Szerdahely (Reussmarkt), 13) Szász-Szebes (Mühlbach), 14) Szászváros (Broos), 15) Beszterce (Bistritz) and 16) Brassó (Kronstadt).

Politically, the counties were originally considered Magyar (Hungarian) and feudal; seats 1-5 were Székely, 6-16 Saxon, all free. And this brings us to the next question, that of the population.

Historically, Transylvania included three constitutionally recognized "nations": the Magyar, the Székely and the Saxon. But medieval records of the Hungarian Court already indicate the presence of a fourth nation, the Rumanians or Romanians (in older texts called Vallachs). In time this last group came to outnumber the other three and was eventually able, with astute political maneuvering to incorporate all of Transylvania into its own national state. To be sure, the Rumanians today contend that they are direct descendants of the Dacians, the "original" inhabitants the Romans conquered and assimilated, and that

they were always an unrecognized majority; the Hungarians however maintain that the majority of Rumanians filtered in from the Balkans during the Middle Ages. Be that as it may, the fact is that by the time Müller and Orbán made their collections in the nineteenth century, Rumanians accounted for at least one half of Transylvania's overall population of about four and a half million.[8]

In addition to these four nationalities, we must mention a sizable Gypsy population, as well as smaller groups of Jews, Armenians and various Slavs. We must also point out that not all Germans in Transylvania were of Saxon origin or considered themselves Saxons. Some were later immigrants who had come there under the Austrian imperium.

We are, however, concerned only with the Saxons and the Székelys, who lived in the "seats" specified above (1-16). These areas were relatively pure in that Saxons

[8]Rumanian estimates of the population of this area in 1870 are: 2.7 million Rumanians, or 60% of the total of 4,400,000. The Hungarian census of 1900 gives a total population of 5.2 million, of which 2.7 million were Rumanian (51%), 1.7 Hungarian (incl. the Székelys), 0.5 German and 0.3 others. See Erdély Története (Din istoria Transilvaniei), II, 236-37. This work was compiled by a historians' collective and published by the Academy of the Rumanian People's Republic (Bucharest, 1964). The number of Székelys is hard to determine since they were never counted as such: perhaps half a million would be a fair estimate. Of the Germans, about one half were Saxons: the Austrian census for 1850 gives their number as 192,000 (p. 339).

or Székelys had a heavy majority in them. The Székely seats, particularly Udvarhely, Csik and Háromszék, the real heart of the Székelyföld, were ethnically somewhat more homogeneous than the Saxon ones. But what mixing there was we find generally segregated by villages or at least village sections. (Transylvanian villages are usually laid out along valleys and roads or streams and tend to be long, thin strips; villages 6-8 kilometers long are common, divided into "lower" and "upper" ends. Occasionally the sections are of different nationalities.)

Of the two ethnic groups, the Saxons are the less problematical insofar as early history is concerned. They became a nation on Transylvanian soil and their entire history is relatively well documented from the time of their colonization by Hungary's Árpád Dynasty in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They came individually and in groups, largely from the lower Middle-Rhine area (or so linguistic evidence would seem to indicate; their emigration is not documented from a German standpoint). It was the Hungarian King Endre the Second who, in a patent issued in 1224, decreed them to be a nation, giving them special rights, in return for which they were to serve "ad retinendam coronam"; they thus became one of the three constitutionally recognized nations of the Transylvanian province.

The Székelys remain an enigma. Precisely because

Rumania and Transylvania have contested Transylvania, each claiming to have a better historical right to it, much research--often of doubtful sincerity--has gone into this problem. Many Hungarians, on the basis of certain medieval chronicles and an ever-present popular tradition, believe them to be descendants of the Huns or other Turkic tribes, who remained behind in the country's easternmost hills after the Huns' retreat from the Carpathian basin. The Rumanians hotly deny this, postulating that the Székelys, themselves Hungarians or Turks turned Hungarian, did not move into the heart of the Székelyföld until the beginning of the thirteenth century. This is the currently held, official Rumanian view.[9] Whatever the historical truth is, the fact remains that the Székelys are a Hungarian-speaking people who consider themselves "better Hungarians than the Hungarians" and that their feeling of separate nationhood rests, today at least, on nothing but a strong tradition, a history of having in the past enjoyed particular constitutional rights and a social organization that differed

[9]See Erdély Története, passim. During World War II, the accepted Rumanian view was that the Székelys were "magyarized" Rumanians; "proof" was supplied by a comparative blood testing program, the result of which was published by Peter Remneantzu, in English, under the title The Biological Grounds and Vitality of the Transylvanian Rumanians (Cluj, 1946). The writer secured a copy of this interesting document, but was not permitted by the authorities to bring it out of the country.

sharply from that of their Hungarian brethren.

Again, this question of social organization is a highly complex one, but for our purposes we can reduce it to a simple statement: whereas the Hungarian counties were originally feudal, the Székely seats were not, but were as a whole a self-governing, military democracy that owed only limited allegiance to the King, except in time of war. The Székelys tolerated no lords or masters until their privileges were gradually lost under the Habsburgs.

The Saxon seats were at first similar in political structure to the Székely ones. The major difference between them came not from constitutional distinctions, but from the fact that, whereas the Székely population remained essentially rural, the Saxons established a few very respectable urban centers: Kronstadt, Schässburg and Hermannstadt were medieval jewels of German culture in the East (and they show it to this day). Another major difference resulted from the two nations' contrasting views of warfare: the Saxons built walled towns and fortified churches, while the Székelys generally preferred defense in the open, with a heavy reliance on a system of forts outside the communes themselves. Saxon society became complex and stratified; the Székely remained simpler, but more democratic--and freer. Because the walls, the urbanization, for all their civilized splendor, also had a negative effect: they made the Saxons turn inward and

brought about the establishment of complicated forms of social control, both on the local and on the "national" level. The possibility for the latter lay in the church: the Reformation came early to Transylvania, and the Saxons became--and have remained--Lutherans, with the exclusion and the persecution of everything else.

Not so with the Székelys. As soon as the Reformation came, they seem almost with jubilation to have embraced every new idea that reached them, so that to this day they are divided among the loyal Catholics--a minority, largely in Csik--the Evangelical Reformed, the Lutherans, and a very strong body of Unitarians (the only such church to survive continuously since the Reformation). Outside of these there are many minor sects among them--from Székely Jews (who adopted Judaism but are ethnically not Jews and presented an embarrassing problem during the German occupation in 1944) to Anabaptists of every shade. (The only person on record who actively proselytized for Islam among the Hungarians was a Székely.) Indeed, the religious history of the Székelys is most fascinating. What is of essence for us, however, is this: that religion and the churches played a different role among the Székelys than among the Saxons. The Saxon church was strong, unified, centralized and orthodox; the Székelys tended toward liberalism and tolerance and, although pious enough, rarely made an issue of religious differ-

ences. The first law in the world granting religious freedom to the individual was passed in Transylvania, at the 1557 Diet of Torda.[10]

Summarizing the traditional similarities and differences, we can say, with some oversimplification, that the former lay in a common heritage of social freedom, in constitutional law and a common history within the larger unit of Transylvania, while the latter consisted of language, religion and temperament--in short, differences of ethnic culture. The latter also determined the loyalties of the two nations: in Hungary's bitter struggle for survival under the Habsburgs the Saxons became royalists, the Székelys republicans. That is how we find them at the time our legends were collected, in the wake of the War of 1848-49, when some of the bloodiest engagements were fought on Transylvanian soil and when Saxon and Székely, tragically, often faced each other on the field of battle.

D. The Collectors and their Works

It is a rare thing to find two extensive sets of local legend samples that lend themselves well to comparison, especially if one goes back to material collected a century ago. Yet in Friedrich Müller's Siebenbürgische

[10]For the religious history of Transylvania, see: Earl Morse Wilbur, A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England and America, vol. II of A History of Unitarianism (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952), pp. 3-165.

Sagen and Balázs Orbán's A Székelyföld leirása we have two collections almost ideally suited for this purpose.

Before the Grimm brothers, the systematic study of folktales was non-existent, and even after them, for the rest of the nineteenth century and also some of the twentieth, this new field of inquiry suffered from the shortcomings (when applied in this area) of the philological methods with which it was pursued--logically enough, since it was at first but a by-product of philology. Rarely was there sufficiently thorough field-work done in any given locality and scholars relied, for the most part, on previously published sources, often of dubious worth. "Not enough was known about the folktale or any part of the popular tradition," writes Stith Thompson, "to permit the arrival at safe conclusions. The collected material was still scanty, especially among primitive peoples, and yet on this inadequate basis scholars with great names had ventured to generalize."[11]

In Transylvania we are hardly among primitives, yet we are--especially in talking about the last century--at the easternmost tip of West-European civilization, some distance away from the mainstream of Western thought. And it is at first glance surprising to find Müller and Orbán achieving something that was, in terms of folkloristics,

[11]Thompson, op. cit., p. 391.

in many ways ahead of the times.

It is sometimes difficult for us today fully to grasp the magnitude of the impact that German thinking had, particularly on East and East Central Europe, in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. During this so-called romantic period, Germany played a determining role in shaping the future of the Western world, and the influence was felt most immediately in the East. For good or for ill, the theoretical foundations of modern-day nationalism were laid in Germany during those decades, not in the political arena (that was to come much later), but in the studies of the intelligentsia, of the writers and academicians, such as the Grimm brothers, who perhaps best symbolize this era. With much hard work and visionary dreams, these men sought nothing less than to reconstruct a glorious Germanic past, lost in the fog of time. Perhaps this was Winckelmann's second murder, a reaction to far too much worship of "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." Be that as it may, the focus of scholarly interest was shifted from the classical to the Indo-Germanic, with the emphasis on the second half of the word. This eventually led to the working out not only of new methods, but of whole new sciences, with which to attack a wide range of heretofore unimagined, enigmatic problems. The origins of present-day linguistics and folkloristics can be traced to this interest of Germany

in its own past.

The new ideas spread rather quickly to the East, particularly within the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, where the main vehicle of inter-ethnic communication was German. But the majority of people they reached there were not ethnically German and could not therefore take pride in, or identify with, the theories of the German romantic school. What the non-German intelligentsia did was to try to copy the German thinking and the German methods, with the aim of finding their own respective, forgotten glories. But there was an essential difference: the thinkers of Germany were, in spite of a national pride that often bordered on the extreme, not yet politically motivated, while in the East the political pressures of the times determined the thinking of the scholars. The War of 1848-49 was, unlike its French counterpart, not chiefly a social upheaval, but a fight for national-cultural independence. The strongest champions of the independence movement were the Hungarians, but the fever spread to other nationalities: the first shots were fired by the Croats of Jellačič, and Avram Iancu was preparing an armed Rumanian takeover in Transylvania. Thus the remapping of East Central Europe after World War II had its beginnings much earlier.

In probably no other part of the Austrian Empire was the political tension stronger than in Transylvania.

In 1848-49, the Transylvanian Hungarians, including the Székelys, fought not only against the Crown but also for unification with Kossuth's Hungarian Republic. Saxon loyalties lay, outside of a strong local patriotism, naturally enough with the Austrians. And for their part the Rumanians already had a vision of România Mare, the Great Rumania they have now almost realized.

It is against this background that we must see the achievement of both Müller and Orbán. Both were prejudiced and both were politically motivated in undertaking their studies; but fortunately, both were intellectually honest men and did not let their prejudice get the best of them. The material they assembled stands on its own merit; it is only some of their assumptions and conclusions that have not withstood the test of time. But these are of little concern to us.

Friedrich Müller (1828-1915), the collector of the Saxon legend corpus was, aside from being a theologian and one of Transylvania's most learned men, also among his nation's foremost political leaders. Indeed, he came close to becoming a national folk-hero of a traditionally unheroic people. The Saxon historian Friedrich Teutsch writes of Müller's installation as Bishop of the Saxons, the nation's highest office:

> Am 20. September 1893 wählte die Landeskirchenversammlung . . . Fr. Müller zum Bischof . . . den Mann voll Geist und Wissen,

> scharf im Denken, klug im Handeln, karg im Lob, bestimmt im Tadel, von den Menschen und dem Schicksal nicht viel erwartend, wuchtig in der Rede, geeignet die Menschen zu führen . . .. Als Lehrer am Schässburger Gymnasium hatte er seinerzeit mitgeholfen, den Organisationsentwurf /of the church school system/ einzuführen . . . in . . . Agnetheln . . . das Rektorat in fester Hand gehalten, bei Einführung der neuen Kirchenverfassung ein Vorkämpfer für sie, auf wissenschaftlichem Gebiete ein angesehener Vertreter der Geschichte und Sagenkunde, der hervorragendste Kenner der prähistorischen und römischen Vorzeit Siebenbürgens, in den politischen Fragen stets mit weitem Gesichtskreis für alles eintretend, was seinem Volke Freiheit, Licht und Lust zur nationalen Entwicklung bot.[12]

Müller served as Bishop until his resignation in 1906. In this capacity he led the Saxon fight against the political hegemony of the Hungarians in Transylvania (from 1867 to 1918 again part of the Hungarian Kingdom). Strongly chauvinistic and often unjust toward his Hungarian countrymen, he was instrumental in preparing Hungary's forfeiture of Transylvania to Rumania.

He was a prolific writer. The product of his labors with the pen lies scattered over uncounted pages of the Transylvanian periodicals of his era. They are of interest only to the political or the church historian. In a scholarly vein we must mention, in addition to the Sagen, Die römischen Inschriften in Dacien (Hermannstadt, n.d.),

[12]Friedrich Teutsch, Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das Sächsische Volk, IV (Hermannstadt, 1926), 153-54.

a work published jointly with Michael Ackner, and, more significantly for us, his Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hexenglaubens und des Hexenprozesses in Siebenbürgen (Braunschweig, 1854). This small monograph is of interest here because Müller's preoccupation with the subject may have influenced the method he used in collecting legends.

Balázs Orbán, too, was an active, energetic man, a productive writer and a political figure. But here the similarity with Müller ends. Indeed, his background and life are themselves so like a legend that, although not strictly of essence here, they deserve short mention, all the more because this amazing man is hardly known today even in Hungary and Rumania.

At the beginning of the last century Sultan Mehmet contracted twelve engineers of the famous mining school of Selmecbánya, Hungary, to come to Turkey. One of them, János Knechtel (of obvious German descent) in time became the supervisor of the Turkish treasury's mines. He married into a rich Greek family of Istanbul, and a daughter, Eugénia, was born to him.

After his contract expired, Knechtel wished to return to Hungary, but his wife refused to accompany him. He thereupon kidnapped his own daughter and sailed home with her.

He put Eugénia in a boarding school at Kassa and set out for Turkey again, after his wife. But the ship

sank and Knechtel perished at sea.

Eugénia, now considered an orphan, was adopted by the wife of Major Pál Orbán and taken to Lengyelfalva, Udvarhely Seat, in Transylvania. She was already a debutante when Major Orbán's son, young Hussar Captain János Orbán, came home wounded from the Napoleonic Wars. The result was love, marriage and five children, the second of whom, Balázs, was born on February 3, 1829.

Mrs. Knechtel, after many years, finally succeeded in tracing her daughter to Lengyelfalva and came there to visit. She talked the young couple into following her to Istanbul, where she possessed a considerable estate. János, Eugénia and the children left for Turkey in 1846, but in the meantime Mrs. Knechtel had died and her property had been seized by Moslem religious.

What followed was a lawsuit that lasted seventeen years. During twelve of them, young Balázs remained abroad. He spent the first two touring Greece and the Near East. In 1848, he organized a free corps to help Hungary's revolution, but the Turks held him back and the surrender at Világos found him on foreign soil, at Viddin. He went to Kütahya and, acting as interpreter, gave aid to Hungarian refugees. With the help of the British consul, he foiled an Austrian attempt to have Kossuth assassinated. Austria asked for his extradition, whereupon he sailed for London, to remain there until 1854,

studying at the British Museum and in the company of Mazzini, Blanc and Hugo. After 1855 he returned to Turkey and stayed there until he was permitted to return to his native Transylvania, in 1859.

At home he was at first not allowed to engage in public activities. He withdrew to Lengyelfalva, and there compiled, wrote and published a six volume travelogue, Utazás keleten (Journey in the East), one of the first such works to appear in Hungarian. He then translated a lengthy (366 page) poem, the epic of Sultan Saif Züliazam, Islam's Don Quijote, a figure unknown to the Europe of his day. But his attention was soon drawn to his beloved Transylvania.[13]

He spent the next seven years on foot and on horseback, touring every village, mountain and valley of the Székelyföld, a tour that culminated in A Székelyföld leirása, the astounding work from which the Székely legends of this study derive and in which Orbán renders a scientific description of the fauna, flora, geography, geology, history and ethnography of the five Transylvanian "seats" comprising the Székelyföld proper and the Hungarian part of the Saxon Brassó Seat.

[13]Imre Mikó, "Orbán Balázs, a szülőföld szerelmese" (B. O., Lover of the Homeland), Korunk, XXVII (July, 1968), 943-50.

Orbán died in 1890. By that time he had been elected a corresponding member of the Royal Hungarian Academy of Science and had been a member of Parliament, a prominent leader of the opposition. Though an aristocrat, he championed the populist cause, and did much to help uplift the lower classes. Among his more interesting acts was the establishment of a scholarship fund for the gymnasium at Székelykeresztur. His instructions regarding it would be considered radically democratic even today: every year the student body had to elect one of its own deserving members to receive the proceeds from it, in the form of a stipend.[14]

Siebenbürgische Sagen underwent two editions (Kronstadt, 1857 and Vienna, 1885). The first contained 444 legends; in the second this number was expanded to 620. It is the second edition that is the source of the Saxon items used in this study.

Müller had two methods of collecting: one in the field and the other in a gleaning of the Transylvanian press. Wherever he went, he carefully recorded the legends he heard from the people. There was evidently no attempt made by him to cover the Sachsenland systematically, but a long lifetime of church work took him to a very large number of settlements; his "sampling" may therefore be con-

[14]Ibid.

sidered reliable. At home, he collected clippings of legends that others had published, and incorporated these into his stock (always giving due credit in footnotes). Sometimes he even turned to the history books and extracted an interesting item here or there, labeling it a legend. As most of his contemporaries, he still had not grasped the essence of folklore studies, namely, that its subject matter ought to be restricted to the oral tradition.

He organized his work loosely, as follows:

1) Mythical Sagen (Nos. 1-330)

   a. German Cycle (Nos. 1-248)

   b. Magyar Cycle (Nos. 249-288)

   c. Vallach (Rumanian) Cycle (Nos. 289-330),

of which the last four are labeled Zigeunersagen, and

2) Historical Sagen (Nos. 331-620).

Most of the numbers of his non-German legends are quoted from secondary sources, as are an additional 205 numbers overall. Some of these are, in addition, from areas other than the Sachsenland. These will not be considered in this study. Of the remaining 333, a total of 38 had also appeared in print before Müller published them in his book, but he recorded them at least in part from the oral tradition. These he footnotes with the word mündlich and with a reference, without indicating possible differences between the two versions.

These 333 numbers are, then, the raw material from

which the Saxon part of the study derives. In fact, the bulk of the legends will come from the German Cycle (1-248) which Müller calls mythical. But it must be pointed out that the number of items is merely relative, in part because not everything Müller labeled a Sage can be called a local legend (e.g. a few stories about Christ and Saint Peter, certain jokes and anecdotes and a couple of outright Märchen), in part because the numbering system, or rather the textual division he used is inconsistent and not supportable. He paid scant attention to either unity of context or unity of place--a fact that has often made it necessary or advantageous to analyze or synthesize elements of his texts in combinations different from his.

Regarding his classification by nationality, Müller writes:

> Was die weitere Entwicklung der Sagen in nationale Kreise anbetrifft, so war dieselbe bei den mythischen durch die Rücksicht auf die Brauchbarkeit der Sammlung geboten und liess sich zugleich unschwer vollziehen, während sie bei den geschichtlichen weder notwendig noch aber irgendwie durchführbar erscheint.[15]

What seems scientific in one age often becomes quite unscientific a hundred years later. Müller's basic assumption as to the Germanic origin of his "mythical" Sagen on the one hand and his failure to see a need to

[15]"Aus der Vorrede zur ersten Auflage," xiii.

consider the nationality of the sources for his "historical" legends makes his classification system wanting as far as the purposes of this investigation are concerned. Since he neglected to record the names of his informants (except in a few instances, when they were educated people) or their nationality, we cannot be absolutely certain, in every case, that a legend Müller placed in the Germanic category was indeed told by a Saxon. He did, however, scrupulously record the places to which the legends are tied, and/or the village in which he recorded each item. The rule that will be followed in this study, then, is this: if the locality-element (the commune to which the legend can best be ascribed) is Saxon, the legend will be treated as a Saxon legend. Where there is any indication that the informant was of another nationality, the fact will be noted.

Orbán's work is another matter entirely. Müller's classification and numbering system is unsatisfactory, but Orbán has none whatever. As the title of his work implies, we are dealing with six volumes of a scientific travelogue in the best, nineteenth century sense of the word, a work that intends to inform the reader about every conceivable aspect of the area it seeks to describe, "from an Historical, Archeological, Natural-Historical and Ethnological Viewpoint."[16] It does this in unbelievable detail, in

[16]Trans. from title page of A Székelyföld leirása.

over 1500 pages of fine print, quarto format. The folkloristic material lies buried in this plethora of information--and no one has ever attempted to dig it out in its entirety, although some of the more interesting and spectacular items have been "discovered" by Hungarian folklorists from time to time and have appeared repeatedly in print.[17] One reason for this is that Orbán made no attempt to classify, to number, or to do anything else but to record the content, the barest essentials, usually, of what he heard--and therefore much of his material is fragmented: a sentence here, a reference there. Unlike Müller, who wrote down his legends in the form of literary texts of at least a paragraph in length, complete with stylistic embellishments meant to entertain the educated reader, Orbán's legends consist for the most part of incidental remarks. Obviously he did not feel that the minute fragments of local tradition tied to the physical features of the land and to the communities themselves

[17]Credit must go in this respect to the Hungarian scholar Zsigmond Szendrey, who attempted to catalogue and to classify all published Hungarian legends. See his "Magyar népmonda tipusok és tipikus motivumok" (Hungarian Folk-Legend Types and Typical Motifs) in Ethnographia XXXIII (1922), 45-64, as well as the bibliographical series "Történelmi népmondáink" (Our Historical Legends), in the same journal, XXXIV-XXXV (1923-24), 143-49, XXXVI (1925), 48-53, XXXVII (1926), 29-33, 78-86, 132-38, 183-87, and XXXVIII (1927), 193-98. A number of Orbán's legends is referred to here, but not nearly all, and many of the references are erroneous. Overall, Szendrey's attempt was much too concise to be successful.

represented anything of particular value. Only in a few cases did he record a connected narrative, where it was sufficiently interesting to warrant this. And although he states in his title that he is concerned with <u>népisme</u>, a coined word (no longer current) that translates roughly as folklore, he understood by this not so much these tid-bits of local tradition but rather wedding and funeral customs and native dress, which he describes at length. The local legends, which he barely recognized as such, play a part for him only as a matter of passing curiosity--except for the rare items that are complex enough to deserve special attention, and those that he thought threw light on some facet of local history. But, fortunately, he published every little detail, if for no other reason than to give his narrative life and color.

A comparison of the two sources with respect to quantity is not very revealing. The Müller collection consists of 620 numbers, of which only 333 are Saxon and recorded directly from an oral account. Müller visited 144 communities. By contrast, Orbán recorded a total of 672 legendary items in 244 settlements. But, again, not all of these will be of interest here, and logic will dictate combining some of them--so that, while it would theoretically be possible to reduce the two sets to some sort of a common denominator, the resulting statistic would still be of questionable validity or usefulness.

For this reason comparison will be made only item by item, with a summary given at the end of the study.

E. Limitations and Scope

Before any two sets of local legends can be effectively compared, they should ideally meet certain criteria, among which the most important are that they:

1) be restricted to well-definable cultural groups living in a geohistorical area small enough for a thorough examination,

2) include a large enough number of items for statistical analysis,

3) be broad, in that the samples be taken from a wide distribution of subjects (informants) in the area,

4) be recorded at the same period of time (era) in history, and

5) be taken by the same method.

With some reservation about the last criterion, we can say that the two sets of local legends to be compared here meet these requirements.

In regard to the method the collectors used in obtaining their items, we have to keep in mind that, although thorough, they were not scientific enough, for neither ever informs us of how he went about eliciting the information from the people he interviewed. One does not collect local legends the same way one would collect bal-

lads or fairy-tales, by finding a willing and able performer and recording whatever he tells. Instead, one has to ask questions, one has to interrogate. And it stands to reason that the questions themselves might prejudice the informant, at least in determining what particular legend or legend type he chooses to supply out of the stock available to him as a member of his commune. Nevertheless, although we shall make allowances for this factor, it is safe to assume that the high number of samples in both the Müller and the Orbán collections will serve to counteract the possible effects of a difference in questioning method.

It is in part for the same reason, but much more to reduce the effect of literary feedback (the derivation of legends from popular literature, in 19th century Transylvania chiefly newspapers, almanacs and magazines) that this study is restricted to items the two collectors recorded themselves, directly from an oral rendition. Both of them, but especially Müller, give items that they have obtained by philologic means, from secondary sources--as their mentors, the Grimm brothers, had done before them. Legends arrived at in this manner have been left out, for the reasons stated (some older items, such as the ones Müller took directly from Strabo or from medieval chronicles would not fit our present-day conception of folklore at all).

When dealing with the folktales of groups with a high literacy index, as in both our cases, an examination of the popular literature current in the geohistorical area in question ought ideally to be made, because a strong exchange effect between folktale and popular literature obviously exists. However, such an examination is beyond the scope of this study. It belongs primarily to an important, as yet hardly recognized field, the study of the effects of literature (including the electronic media and film today) on a given culture.

In addition to the sharp limitation as to source material, this study is also restricted to legends having a supernatural (mythical or superstitious) element in them, and to treasure legends. The latter are included even though they are not always combined with the supernatural, for potentially all legends with a treasure motif lend themselves to a supernatural twist (indeed, the belief that there is treasure in a certain place is, until it is recovered, a superstition) and because, as will become clear, the absence of a supernatural element may be statistically just as important in some contexts as its presence. Legends of a purely historical character do not form a part of this thesis, except insofar as they occur in combination with supernatural or treasure elements.

In dealing with local legends, it would seem convenient to speak of three unities:

1) unity of locale (place)

2) unity of context, and

3) unity of aspect.

The importance of the unity of locale has already been discussed: a legend in which locale A plays a functional part is different from, or at least a variant of, a similar legend attached to locale B. Unity of context is obvious: a given local legend must concentrate on one central motif or event, that is, it must have one focus, and its elements or moves should logically fit into one framework. A series of disconnected motifs all attached to the same mountain do not constitute the legend of that mountain. Indeed, each of such motifs may be a separate legend in its own right.

By unity of aspect the writer means the viewpoint from which the legend is analyzed. This is similar to, but not identical with, a legend's possible classification by motifs. Most local legends could be analyzed from almost as many aspects as the number of roles or motifs they contain. To give a simple illustration: a hill was formed when a giant scraped the mud from his boots. Is this a giant legend, an etiological hill legend, or (possibly, if the motif occurred in other contexts) specifically a "mud scraped from boots" legend? It depends on the aspect we wish to view it from.

In this study, the basic aspect will be from the

supernatural characters involved, whereby under supernatural characters we shall also include non-personified supernatural forces. The plan of development is such that we shall move from the mythical to the superstitious and, within these two main divisions, from the more popular to the less popular and from the simple to the complex. Sometimes a legend will have to be considered from several aspects, if it contains more than one supernatural character.

The focus of the study is quite specific: to compare the two sets of legends on hand and to draw certain conclusions about the two ethnic groups, the Saxons and the Székelys, who were their carriers. No attempt will be made to go beyond these aims by stepping outside these limitations to examine legends of other times, peoples or places, or to postulate legendary etiologies. It is the conviction of the writer that such attempts will continue to fail until broad samplings of local legends, representing whole geohistorical units, are available and made a subject for comparison.

II. MYTHICAL LOCAL LEGENDS

This chapter deals with those local legends recorded by Müller and Orbán that contain mythical characters. The term "mythical" is used by modern scholarship to cover a wide range of meanings, with no precise agreement on its definition; here it is used merely as a label for one of the two categories of supernatural characters established for the sole purpose of comparing the two sets of legends in question. No attempt will be made to go beyond such a comparison to arrive at a mythological theory by hypothesizing about a world of belief long lost in the fog of time.

In defining his label, the writer has found it logical to give a somewhat more restricted meaning to the word "mythical" than that generally accepted. It seems propitious to divide the supernatural world into two aspects of time: the past and the present. This division is not, however, based on the tense of narration, as is often done in making classifications, but rather on the tense of the characters: accordingly, supernatural characters that, at the time our legends were recorded, were no longer believed to exist or to be operative in the immediate environmental microcosm by a substantial number of the interviewed

group's adult members, will be considered past-tense characters and labeled mythical, while those still believed to so exist and to be operative will be called present-tense, or superstitious characters. In this respect the categories established for this study differ somewhat from those usually seen in motif indices: for example, by this definition the divine element operating in the immediate microcosm becomes superstitious, not mythical (except for divine forces or deities no longer believed in), while supernatural characters (such as giants, dragons and others of lesser importance known to us chiefly from the Märchen) are considered mythical, and are not listed together with witches and most magic animals, as is sometimes done by those who have based their analyses chiefly on other folktale types, where these characters may occur together.[18] Even with these tailor-made definitions, however, we shall not find our categories absolute: gradations are possible. We shall encounter borderline cases, as that of the Székely tündér, which cannot be relegated with precision to either category.

The writer repeats that the above are merely working definitions, to establish a convenient division for the

[18]See for example Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk-Literature (Bloomington, 1955), which lists characters or motifs so that they "progress from the mythological and the supernatural toward the realistic and sometimes the humorous." I, 19-20.

comparative aims of this study. They may or may not be productive when applied to traditional, oral genres other than the local legend.

In connection with the possible deduction of mythologies from the local legend, a word ought to be said about the attitudes of the collectors themselves. Orbán gives no indication that he attached any particular significance to the mythical elements of the legends he recorded. Müller, on the other hand, was at first a thoroughly convinced adherent of the romantic school. Nothing illustrates this better than the analytic appendix to the first edition of his book.[19] He went to such extremes in his "mythologizing" there that he drew some sharp criticism from the more responsible segment of the contemporary German scholarly world. To his credit, he had enough academic honesty to publish some of this criticism and to adjust his work to it; thus he incorporated into the introduction to his second edition a comment K. Müllenhoff had written him, "in einem sehr freundlichen Briefe vom 9. Dezember 1857":

> Die wissenschaftliche Ausbeutung einer Sagensammlung ist überhaupt eine eigne Sache. Wer verlangt von einem Urkundensammler die Ausbeutung seines Stoffes für die Geschichte? Sollte ich je dazu kommen meine Sammlung neu herauszugeben . . . so würde ich vielleicht alles gelehrte Beiwerk über Bord werfen; ich bin je länger je misstrauischer geworden gegen die üblichen Kombinationen der Volkssagen mit

[19] Siebenbürgische Sagen (Kronstadt, 1857).

> der Mythologie, besonders wie sie von Johann Wilhelm Wolf geübt worden sind, und ich danke es jedem, der sich hier zu beschränken und zu bescheiden weiss.[20]

In the second edition Müller dropped the controversial appendix, having realized,

> dass was vor einem halben Jahrhundert durch Jakob Grimms deutsche Mythologie fest begründet schien und noch zur Zeit der ersten Ausgabe der vorliegenden Sammlung allgemein anerkannt war, der Gehalt der Sage und des Märchens an nationalem Götterglauben, seither so in Schwanken gekommen sei, dass es gewagt wäre für jemanden, der nur am Saume mühsam arbeitet, sich auf festem Grunde zu wähnen und mitten in die Reihe der Kämpfenden zu stellen.[21]

He kept the same division, however--mythical and historical Sagen--in the second edition of his work. But under "mythical" he also ranked those legends that have been placed under the heading of "Superstitious Local Legends" here.

Neither Müller's Sagen nor Orbán's six volumes are readily available in the West. In the latters' case, the Hungarian lanugage itself is a restrictive limitation to the work's accessibility. For these reasons, a synopsis of all the legends to be examined will be given. The texts are not translations of the originals (except where noted), but re-tellings of their essential contents. Since neither

[20] "Vorrede zur zweiten Auflage," xxiii-xxiv.

[21] Ibid., xxiii.

collector recorded his legends precisely as he heard them, the exact rendition of their versions would be of no significance. The tense of the original narratives, however, has in most cases been kept.[22]

A. Giant Legends

The first mythological character-type we encounter on our trip through the Saxon and Székely lands of the Transylvania of a hundred years ago is that of the giant; a substantial number of the local legends of both ethnic groups deals with them. We shall first list all Saxon references to them, then add those of Orbán's Székelys. Finally, we shall summarize and try to see in what ways the Saxon giants differed from their Székely counterparts.

[22]The numbering system used throughout this study is as follows: a reference number prefixed by M or O (for Müller or Orbán) will appear in the center of the page for each item. These numbers are for the purposes of this study only and have been assigned as the logic of the development has dictated. There is not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between these numbers and the original Sage numbers Müller used.

The numbers in parentheses within or after each text are, for the Müller group, the original Sage number, for Orbán the volume and page number.

The name of the community to which each given legend can best be ascribed is typed in the upper case within the text. In most cases this is identical with the place where the item was recorded.

For Saxon legends, the German name of the community is given; for Székely items the names are Hungarian. A trilingual glossary of community names is appended to the study.

M1

Giants once lived at WEISSKIRCH, where a thickly wooded ridge is called Hainmauer in their honor (12).

M2

Giants built the fort whose ruins can be seen at the "Mühlsteinbruch" near GÖDÖLLŐ, in the Csicsó Mountains (21--recorded in Bulkesch).[23]

M3

The giants once had a church at DÜRRBACH, where some traces of old walls are called the "Hinkirch" (12).[24]

M4

At JAAD, where giants built the fort, their long, mighty shinbones are occasionally still dug out of the ravines (143).

M5

The numerous small hills near BULKESCH were made when giants scraped mud from their boots (11).

M6

Giants built the church tower at SEIBURG; their women hauled the stones for it in their aprons (10).

[23]Though Gödöllő is not Saxon, Bulkesch is.

[24]Müller's transcription of Saxon words and names has been retained throughout this study.

M7

The Schlossberg at GÖRGÉNY was formed when a lump of earth fell through a hole in the apron of a giant woman (18).[25]

M8

The same legend as in M7 is also told about the hill Kirchbühl at BIRTHÄLM (18).

M9

A giant once lived on the Hönyekîpchen at BUZD. Once he went down to the church and took a bite out of the clapper of the bell (the church bell of Buzd has a piece broken out of it--120).

M10

The two giant brothers that lived on the mountains between Szeretfalva and UNGERSCH had only one ax between them, which they would toss back and forth across the Sajó River Valley. Once, during a famine, one of them went to Moldavia for cornmeal. His first step carried him to a mountain between Baierdorf and Heidendorf, where his footprint can still be seen in the rock. The whole mountain is called Haintrapp after this fact. Another mountain toward Szeretfalva is called Riesenburg, and a well there the Riesenbrunnen (12).

[25]Görgény is not Saxon, but the tale was evidently told by a Saxon, because Müller placed it in the Saxon group.

M11

At SACHSISCH REGEN there are traces of fortifications on the mountains called Sattelburg and Spitzburg. Some say that the Tartars, others that giants once lived there. These giants were so mighty they would hand each other a sieve from one peak to the other, and it would take them only one step to reach a mountain beyond Görgény. Whenever they quarreled or fought, people in the valleys below would think it thundered. Men feared them, although they were never bothered by them: the giants were even helpful on the rare occasions when they came down into the valleys. But they were always very sad and their numbers decreased from day to day. Once, when the sky was clear, people heard it thunder above once more, louder than ever--and since that time no giants have ever been seen (15).

M12

A church at MALDORF is said to have been built by giants. A hill there is even called Henyekirch. But others claim it was built by dwarfs called Zenker (118).

M13

The fort at GLOGOVITZA was built by giants. It was so strong that stones are still being hauled from it, even though the old castle of Szentmiklós has already been built of them. Such strength is considered proof

that it was built by giants. The well of the fort used to have a bucket hanging on a golden chain: Rumanians who often dig there still hope to find it someday (22--from Bulkesch).[26]

M14

A Hüneburg is said to have stood on the Schidreg, a mountain between NADESCH and Marienburg. The giants that built it buried their great treasure there. One man saw it once and reached down to pick some of it up, when he was suddenly seized by an invisible hand and whisked off through the air, all the way to the ouskirts of Bun. Another man once brought home a golden rod from there, but had no peace of mind until he returned it. It is believed that only Sonntagskinder--people born on a Sunday--can get this treasure, and that even they cannot be natives (140).

M15

On the Landskron near TALMESCH there once lived a giant by the name of Torreschöng with his daughter. The daughter once picked up a plowman and his oxen in her apron and took them up on the Landskron to show them to her father. But he told her sternly to take them back again.

Torreschöng was not always so kindly disposed

[26]Glogovitza is not Saxon, but Bulkesch is.

toward men, however, for in Talmesch people say "er geht herum wie der Torreschöng" whenever they see a gloomy, sulking person (8).[27]

M16

The same story as in M15 is told about the giant's daughter that lived in the fort at REPS (8).[28]

M17

The story of the giant's daughter is also told at KERZ, where the ruins of the giants' fort can still be seen (8).[29]

M18

The daughter of the giant that lived in the Hünenturm at METTERSDORF was told by her father after she had brought him a plowman: "Take him back again, my daughter, for these creatures will be mighty one day and will drive us from here." (12)[30]

[27] From an oral account, but published also in Blätter für Geist, Gemüt und Vaterlandskunde (hereafter referred to as BfGG&V), 1851, p.65.

[28] Also in BfGG&V, 1840, p. 293.

[29] Müller adds here: "Auch ausserdem taucht sie [this motif] an mehreren Orten des Vaterlandes klar oder anklingend auf." He refers the reader to Transylvania, Beiblatt zum Siebenbürgischen Boten, 1846, p. 42.

[30] See also László Kóváry, Erdély régiségei (Transylvania's Antiquities; Pest, 1852), p. 183.

M19

At NEITHAUSEN, where the giant's daughter went down from the Kässelberg all the way to the village to kidnap a farmer, the father advised her: "See, my daughter, these ants are going to drive us away from here." (12)

M20

The story of the giant's daughter is also told at ZENDRESCH (12), where the giants had a church so huge that it took up the whole Kirchtal. A small valley, called the Chorbakels and connected with the Kirchtal by a ravine, is said to have formed its choir. But one can see that their Christ or prophet was not in the East, for the Chorbakels opens to the North (17).

M21

In SCHÄSSBURG, too, where many giants lived--as the names Hënneberg, Hënyeschgesken, Hënyekäller and Hënyeschburg show, and where a Bergsattel they used for riding may still be seen--one giant's daughter asked her father, when she noticed men plowing in the valley for the first time: "Father, what kind of worms and ants are those down there?" "Child," the father sighed, "they are going to eat us out of this world yet." But she went down anyway and brought herself an apronful of them to play with (19).

M22

Whenever the giants living on the hindmost field at SCHWEISCHER saw a man, they would cry: "Sät, doirt kunn de júmezen en walln es äus âser hîmet verdreiwen" (see, there come the ants and want to drive us out of our homeland). One of them finally took enough courage to pick up a plowman and his horses and went off with him (5).

One giant also lived on the Rea Kôp (a mountain) nearby, where the Hünenweg is. He once took a step to the Kriurêg (Crow Ridge) and with another reached the outskirts of the next village, Deutsch-Weisskirchen. That is why people say that the Hattert (from Hung. határ, range, the amount of land belonging to a village) of Schweischer is only two giant steps wide.

Some people here also say that the giant mothers used to pick up people, beasts, plows and all, and take them home for their children to play with (9).

M23

The giants that once lived on the mountain Hüneburg at KAISD had a tragic end. They fought the people who settled there but became finally discouraged and left the region. One of them, perhaps ill, stayed behind and was taken to the Hanne (village judge). He did not last long, however: he died and was buried by the villagers. His shirt was kept for a long time as a memento in the fort at Kaisd. It measured five ells across the breast.

One could see by the pocket on it that this giant had been a carpenter (14).[31]

A road connecting the forts of Kaisd and Reps is still called Henyeschweg (26).

M24

Giants founded the city of HERMANNSTADT; they built the towers of the Rathaus and of the Lutheran Church (29), or perhaps even the whole church--"denn die Riesen waren ja evangelisch." These giants were so big they handled half-ton blocks as if they were bricks and stepped from the school building to the church (28). One giant lived in each of the towers, and from here they ruled the whole city with an iron hand. But they were bored, and invented games for their amusement. Once one of them bet that he could step from one tower to the other, but he broke his neck in the attempt. The other, left all alone, was then attacked by the people and killed. His shinbone, one fathom long, was not long ago still hanging from chains in the church (29). The gravestones of the giants can still be seen in the church and the portrait of the last one was still on display recently in the Hutten house, where he was buried (28).

M25

Near the village of BIRK there are a few rather

[31]Also in BfGG&V, 1851, p. 5.

large mounds. The giants who ruled these parts in bygone days are buried there (30).

With this we have reached the end of the road tracing giants through the land of the Saxons; we have seen all that Müller recorded directly, from the oral tradition of his people.

Let us now turn to Orbán and see where the Székely giants dwelt.

01

Giants lived on the mountain Várhegyesi (Fortress Peak) at ZSÁKOD (I, 155).

02

Giants built the fort that is said to have stood on the peak at BODOK (III, 55).

03

In SZENTPÉTER (Brassó Seat), a village with a mixed population, there are remnants of a fort on the mountain Lempesch. It is called Taterburg by the Saxons, but the Székelys say it was built by giants (VI, 442).

04

North of MAGYARÓS there is a row of six regularly formed, round mounds. They were shaped by giants (IV, 78).

05

At SZOTYOR there is a cliff called Óriáskő (Giant

Rock). On top of it there is a five foot diameter depression, resembling the imprint of a human heel. This is the footprint of the óriás (giant) that used to step from here to Mt. Cenk at Brassó (III, 37).

06

At KARÁCSONFALVA there are some traces of small earthworks, called Hagymás Vára (Fort of Hagymás). In spite of their diminutive size, people believe this was a fort that giants built, and think that there is a treasure buried in them (I, 186).

07

Giants built the Török Vára (Turk's Fort) at LISZNYÓ, where a ravine called Hon Árka (Hon's [Hun's?] Trench) is said to have been their road. There is a treasure buried in this ravine (III, 204).

08

A tall mountain at SOMOSD is called Óriás (Giant). A giant used to have a fort on it. Nearby a hill is called Kincses (Place of Treasure); he hid his treasure there. Another hill nearby is called Dörgő (Thunderer); the giant used to stand on it and shout over to his fort (IV, 41).

09

The fort at SZACSVA was built by giants, but when men came, they became extinct. Their treasure is hidden

in the cellars under the fort (III, 174).

010

About three hours walk from KÉZDISZENTLÉLEK, along the Kászon Valley, there is a peak called Váréle (Fortress Ridge). On it there are traces of a small fort. Giants built it. There are cellars under it, containing an immense wealth guarded by a brass greyhound. The cellars open every three years, and then people from Hungary come and haul some of it away. There are no giants left there now, only huge ants the size of haystacks (III, 112).

011

On LEMHÉNY's Várerőse (Fortress Stronghold) there are ruins of a fortress. This was the work of giants. An immense treasure is believed to be buried there. One man who dug for it claimed that he found corpses of men nine feet tall; they collapsed when they were touched. And a very old man reported that when he was a child, the walls--now almost disappeared--were still six to eight fathoms high. The tower gate was still intact and, above it, there was an inscription that no-one, "not even the preacher," was able to read (III, 120).

012

To the west of ERESZTEVÉNY, a ridge is called Óriás (Giant). On it there are two circular, earthen walls: the larger is the óriások pincéje (giants' cellar), the

smaller the óriások kutja (giants' well). The giant that once lived here was so large that he could reach the forts at Torja and Borosnyó with a few steps. But in spite of his size, he had to leave when the region was given to men. Before leaving he made a huge cellar in the insides of the mountain and hid in it whatever treasures he could not take along (III, 176).

013

Three forts at ALSÓRÁKOS were built by giants: one on the Rákosi Tepej (Rákos Mt.), one on the Ürmösi Tepej (Ürmös Mt.) and one in the Rákos Pass. The last of these eventually passed to a famous warrior named Mihály: that is why it is called Mihály Vára (Mihály's Fort). The giant that lived on the Rákosi Tepej was chased off by men; but before he left, he hid his treasure and his sheep with the golden fleece in the cave Szörmál Lika (Szörmál's Hole). This cave is so deep that man cannot reach its bottom. An old shepherd once had himself lowered into it on a rope, but heard such a frightening noise down there that he quickly had himself hauled up again (I, 203).

014

Giants built the Pogányvár (Pagan Fort) whose ruins stand on a mountain at CSIKRÁKOS. Here there are cellars full of treasure under the fort. A shepherd once happened onto their entrance. Inside there was a golden cross on a silver table; when he touched it, an inner door sprang open, revealing tubs and buffalo-hides full of treasure to

him. He grabbed as much as he could, but when he approached the door, a voice boomed: "Put it down, or you won't get out!" He did so, and the door opened. This treasure can be gotten only with the help of the vasfü ("iron grass," believed to have magic power in opening locks) hidden in the church at Csikrákos (II, 72).

015

The King of the Giants had his fort on the Várdomb (Fortress Hill) of SZENTISTVÁN, where there is still some rubble left and where human bones are often turned up by the plow. Once his daughter went down to the Küküllő River and picked up the men plowing there into her apron. She took them to her father, who made her put them down, saying theirs would be the next race to rule the earth.

Soon it came to war between men and the giants, and a great battle was fought over the fort. The giants were defeated; it is their bones that cover the Várdomb (IV, 29).[32]

016

At VARGYAS, the tallest peak of the Rika Range is called Kustály Vára (Kustály's Fort). There is nothing on it now, but a fort used to stand there in the days when water still covered the valleys and giants dwelt on the mountaintops. The giant that lived here had two

[32]According to another story this fort was built by the King of the Lombards. He and his people were defeated and killed by the Hungarians during the conquest of the country. Orbán, IV, 29.

brothers, who lived on Mt. Bágy and on the Hegyestetõ; they would go to see each other by boat.

When the waters finally broke through the Verestorony (Red Tower) Pass and the land dried out, men began to appear in the valleys. Once the Kustály giant's daughter stepped down to the Homoród Valley, picked up a few men and took them to her father; but he told her to take them back, for they were to inherit the land.

A slope near Kustály Vára is called Piritó (pres. part. of pirit, to redden). The giants named it so because they would turn red from the effort of climbing it. And a huge barren spot there is thought to have been the giants' fireplace (I, 228).

017

A fortress once stood on the Várhegy (Fortress Mt.) at MIKLÓSVÁR. Giants used to live in it. The ravines that run through the woods here are the furrows made by their silver plows, drawn by golden-haired oxen.

These giants were so huge they could reach Domos with one step and Ft. Tortogó with another.

One of them had a daughter. She went out once, picked a few men into her apron and took them to her father, who told her to let them go, for they would inherit the land.

His prediction has come true, for there are no more giants left. But before the end came, two old ones survived for a while. When they felt their death approaching, they sank their fabulous treasure into the well of the

fort, where it remains to this day.

Every seventh year a hazelbush turns aside and reveals the entrance to the fort's cellars, where gold drips into a silver trough. People from Aranyos Seat and Hungary come to take of it.

At the foot of the Várhegy there is a spring; there is a treasure buried there (III, 17).

018

Not far from NAGYPATAK, on Mt. Várbérc (Fortress Peak), where there are still some ruins, lived the King of the Giants. He was so big he would step from here to Mt. Cenk at Brassó, hang his kettle on the peak and cook his dinner there. The cathedral at Brassó was built by him.

Facing the Várbérc there is another peak called Muskács; at the foot of it there is a spring, the Várnica. Beside the spring there is a depression: this is the footprint of the giant, who used to come here to drink.

The giant's daughter went down to the valley one day and picked a few men in her kerchief. But her father shouted at her: "Take them back, for they are to succeed us."

The race of giants was nearing extinction and that of men becoming numerous. When the giant on Várbérc felt the end approaching, he took the large, golden bells of his fort, which he had used to summon other giants, and sank them into the fort's well. They are still there, and on holidays they ring so loud that the whole mountain

trembles.

Down below there is another well, the Aranyoskut (Golden Well). There is a gold run in it; foreigners come and haul it away by the trough.

A depression on the southeast corner of the Várbérc is called Ablak Szikla (Window Cliff). This is where the entrance to the treasure-laden, secret cellars of the fort is hidden. But the treasure is guarded by spirits. Once a shepherd went in, filled his cape with gold and started back out. Two black goats were standing at the door. When they bleated, the door slammed shut; the shepherd just managed to jump through it. The door caught the tip of his cape. He tore it loose, but could still not move from the spot until he had spilled the gold onto the ground. It turned into plantain leaves, and the wind blew it all away . . . (III, 165).

019

Below BÜKSZÁD, on the cliff called Alsó Sólyomkő (Lower Falcon Rock) there are traces of a fort. A shepherd said that it was built by giants for the tündérkirály (king of the tündérek[33]; III, 62-63).

020

The mountain Leányvár (Girl's Fort) at BERECK is

[33]Pl. of tündér--usually translated as "fairy"; the term will be discussed in detail below.

where the daughter of the last of the giants lived. Her father lived in Veneturné Vára (Mrs. Venetur's Fort) nearby, where there are still cellars full of treasure. She was a tündér, and had fallen in love with a shepherd boy who played beautiful songs on his flute. Her father would not hear of an alliance with a mere human; she therefore escaped from his fort with her tündér handmaidens and built herself another one here. But she soon died of a broken heart, and with her the race of the giants became extinct: the way was clear for men to settle in the land (III, 125).

021

At NAGYKADÁCS are the ruins of Kadács or Kadicsa Vára (Fort of Kadács). They say that it was built in the days when the valleys were still covered with water and the forts communicated by boat. The main fort was at Firtos (cf. 048). It was not permitted to light candles in Kadács Vára until the lights of Firtos were burning.

The fort was built by giants. These giants were so big that, when the first bell was rung in the cathedral at Gyulafehérvár (the old capital of Transylvania), they would rise and shave; at the second bell they would dress; and by the third they would have arrived for mass.

After these giants had become extinct, Kadács Vára was inherited by the tündérek. They still dwell

there, in its gilded, underground chambers. The doors of these chambers open every seventh year, but the treasure in them is under a spell and under the watchful eyes of the tündérek; thus, it cannot be taken. But on quiet nights, when the moon is full, the song of the tündérek can be heard down under, in Nagykadács (I, 114).

022

There is an old fort, the Bálványosvár (Fort of Idols) on the Bálványhegy (Idol Mountain) near TORJA, so called because in the old days the Székelys used to worship their pagan god in it (III, 69). This fort was built by a giant or by the King of the Tündérek out of a soft stone that only hardened later. When he had finished his fort, he built a golden bridge from it to the top of Mt. Büdös, to provide his daughter, the Queen of the Tündérek, with a fitting place to walk.

One spring morning his daughter escaped and went down to take a look at the world below. With a couple of steps she reached Póka Halma (Póka's Mound) near Kézdivásárhely, and there, to her amazement, she saw men plowing in the valley. After she had stared at them to her heart's content, she picked some of them up, beasts, plows and all, put them into her apron, and carried them off to her father's fort. He, however, chastized her for this, saying "Put them down, my daughter, and let those

little bugs go free, for their anger could cause our end; treat them well, my child, for they are going to be our successors."

Torja Vára (Torja's Fort), on a neighboring peak, was also the dwelling of a giant. He was so big that he could step from the fort to Bara Mezeje (Bara's Meadow), the top of a huge cliff between Fort Torja and the Bálványosvár, whence people used to signal with fire and flags (III, 87).

023

Giants used to live at BALÁNBÁNYA, on Mt. Egyeskő (Lone Rock); the tündér Queen Ilona had a fort on the neighboring Várbükk (Fortress Oak), where there is a tremendous treasure hidden in the fortress well. When these giants fled, they hid their wealth in the caves of Mt. Egyeskő. A shepherd once found the hiding-place and packed three horses with gold (II, 95).

024

Opposite the Várhegy (Fortress Mountain) at ERDŐSZENTGYÖRGY a mountain is called Leánymező (Girl Meadow). A tündérvár (tündér fort) used to stand here; the daughter of the giant of Senye Vára (Senye's Fort) lived in it. Once the daughter picked up a few plowmen in her apron . . . . There is a treasure in the vaults of Senye Vára, guarded by tündérek (IV, 30).

025

A king of the giants, Bábolna by name, lived on the Csenktetõ (Csenk Top) at BESENYÕ. His daughter, a beautiful tündér, lived on the neighboring Hegyestetõ. They would converse with each other across the valley. The daughter lived in a golden fort that turned on a pivot. She eventually turned into an angyal (angel) and Angyalos, a village not far from there, was named after her. At Angyalos a ravine is called Bábolna Árka (Bábolna's Trench); in it the mighty king hid the golden sun and the golden lamb. They are still there, guarded by a fire-spewing white stallion with fancy saddle and bridle. Whoever catches the stallion and rides it around Bábolna Árka will get the treasure (III, 183).

026

At BIKFALVA, where there used to be a watch-tower on Mt. Csigavár (Snail Fort), the well used to have a golden bucket on a golden chain. These are still hidden there. A place a little higher up is called Szerelem Padja (Bench of Love), because there the giant of Csigavár used to meet the tündér of Mt. Vecel.

Not far away, a cliff is called Décse Köve (Décse's Rock). One of the giants that used to live in the region had a horse so big that it once stood with its hind legs on Mt. Bodok and his forefeet on Décse Köve, and grazed

on the other side of the Carpathians, in Rumania. The Rumanians came by the thousands to try to capture it. They clung to its mane and tugged at it, but just then a fly bit the horse on the rump: it snapped for the fly and sent the Rumanians in its mane flying, scattering them all over Transylvania. They settled down and became the forefathers of those who dwell there now. The hoofprints of the giant horse can still be seen on Décse Köve (III, 205).

027

On the Várhegy (Fortress Mountain) at NYÉNY there is an old fort, whose giants were so arrogant that they wanted to have a bridge built across the Várpatak (Fortress Creek) Valley, and made a contract with the Devil to that end; but God took away their strength and destroyed their fort with his lightning (VI, 65).

028

At OLTSZEM there are ruins of a fort called Mikóvár (Ft. Mikó). It was built by giants. These giants were so big they could step from here to Mt. Kincsás, and they were black--at least, they wore black armor.

The great treasure of these giants is still in the vaults of the fort, being guarded by black pulyák (dial. for dwarfs). Once a shepherd fell into these vaults. Just then a large group of pulyák were making merry, eating, drinking and dancing. They offered him a drink from a

black pitcher. But, in his fright, the shepherd could only sigh "My God, where am I?" At this, the pulyák, heretofore friendly, grabbed him and threw him out through a trapdoor with such force that he went flying over the bushes and fell down far away, at the edge of the woods. His companions found him there, half dead.

("Today he is an old man," Orbán adds, "but swears to heavens that this story, which was invented by his imagination, is true, word for word." III, 57).

029

Near IKAFALVA, on the peak Csernát, stand the ruins of an old tower, called Ika Vára (Ika's Fort). This Ika was the general of a certain King Póka. He first lived in the Bálványosvár (Fort of Idols--cf. 022), but was chased out of it. He then built a new fort here, where he was later killed in a bloody battle.

After his death, a giant moved into the fort. This giant was a mighty man with wings who would, when angry, sit out on the rock where the imprint of his fist can still be seen. Once in a while he would fly down and land on top of the church steeple, just to frighten people.

Later, a giant snake took his place. It was so long that it could wrap itself around the tower, stretch down and drink from the creek. Sometimes it would grab people and haul them up to his nest. A foreign knight

finally killed it after a long, hard fight.

In the vaults of the fort there is a rich treasure in vats, but it is guarded by two magic roosters, one black and one red. When one sleeps, the other wakes. If someone nears, the cock crows and the cellar door slams shut. The vargviálisok (people who hunt for treasure on the basis of old documents) have found the iron door several times, but could get no further (III, 94-95).

What similarities and what differences can be discerned between the Saxon and the Székely concept of giants, taking their respective bodies of giant-legends as a whole?

We have to keep in mind that Müller's method of collecting was rather haphazard, while Orbán's was fairly thorough and systematic. No doubt Müller would have found more giant legends if he had covered every village of the Sachsenland, the way Orbán had the Székely settlements.[34] But it is significant that both of them recorded approximately the same number of giant legends: twenty-five and twenty-nine, respectively. With some reservation, then, we can say that the figure of the giant enjoyed about equal popularity with the people of both nations.

[34]In connection with the giant's daughter, he implies that he did not record every legend he heard. See above, p. 46, footnote 28.

But the way in which they viewed their giants was not entirely the same.

The first difference between the two sets of legends is that the Saxon ones are purer, in the sense that nearly all of them deal exclusively with giants: in only one of the twenty-five instances was another mythical character, that of the dwarf, connected with the giant (M12), and in only two instances (M13 and M14) was buried treasure mentioned as a corollary motif--this being a subject that, as will be shown, forms an important, separate group of legends. In the Székely corpus, on the other hand, tündérek are combined with the giants in eight of the twenty-nine instances (019-026), while a superstitious character, that of the Devil, and two mythical characters, dwarfs and a giant snake (dragon), are connected with them in one case each (027, 028 and 029, respectively). Buried treasure appears as a corollary motif in an overwhelming nineteen cases (06-014, 017, 018, 020, 021, 023-026, 028 and 029).

The specific description of the giants was, among the Saxons, limited to their great size and strength: they would step from this peak to that (M10, M11, M22, M24), hand each other something very heavy or something across a great distance (M10, M11, M24); in one case, the giant's dimensions were even given (M23). The Székelys mentioned only the giant step (04, 05, 012, 017, 018, 028), but

added strength of voice (08) and great speed. Saxons reported seeing actual remains of giants (long shinbones) in one instance; with this we can contrast the somewhat fancier "eyewitness account" of the Székely who told Orbán about the nine-foot-tall mummies (011). In one case the Székelys said the giants were black, or that they wore black armor (028).

There is one singular exception to these Székely descriptions, which must be examined further: that of the giant of Ikafalva, the huge man with wings (029).

Müller, commenting on a dating theory for legends proposed by the Hungarian historian and writer, László Kőváry[35], already noted in connection with the tündérek and óriások (giants) of the Hungarian legend, that

> Der Ausdruck tündér ist ziemlich willkürlich mit óriás . . . und einmal mit vajda /governor/ durcheinandergewürfelt und entspricht meist dem deutschen Riesen; tündérek können auch männlich sein. . . . dass zwischen beiden waltender Kampf erscheint, hebt diese Behauptung nicht auf, wenn die Analogien aus der Mythologie anderer Völker nicht ausser Acht gelassen werden.[36]

If we apply his observation to the material we are here examining, we could say, at first glance, that Müller's conclusion is right. However, the matter is not entirely that simple, because the terms tündérek and

[35]László Kőváry, Száz történelmi rege (One Hundred Historical Legends; Kolozsvár, 1857), pp. 1-26.

[36]Müller, footnote pp. xx-xxi.

óriások are quite obviously not mere synonyms, and they do not, moreover, correspond to the German word *Riesen*. To say that the conflict between giants and *tündérek* does not disprove the proposition of their essential identity if analogies from the mythologies of other peoples are not left out of consideration, is not entirely to the point in our case, for it leaves unanswered the question of what the Székely people, in the nineteenth century, meant by these terms.

We have seen that the giant's daughter (020, 022, 024, 025) or beloved (026) was on occasion a *tündér*, and that when the *tündér* of Bereck died (020), the race of *giants* became extinct with her. This much is indeed enough to prove a connection and even to imply identity. Yet the two terms are not freely interchangeable. In only one case has a giant been called King of the *Tündérek* (but not a *tündér*--022); in all other cases, except one (to be presented), the *tündérek* of the Székely legends seem to be female[37], sometimes inherit the land from the giants (i.e., follow them in chronology), and have an independent existence of their own. They are not

[37]As they are in the Hungarian folktale, too. To be sure, *tündér* as an adjective may be applied to the male sex or to objects, but used alone it suggests a female creature.

generally huge or strong, even though in the case of the legends containing the giant's daughter motif, this is so. What is more, although the giants are gone, the tündérek are still very much around. Or is it perhaps the song of giants that the villagers hear on moonlit nights, and is it in their footprints that flowers grow? We can agree with Müller only to a limited degree and say that, whereas to the Saxons the giants were merely giants, the Székelys of his era put them into the same class with tündérek, thus interweaving two different mythological characters and on occasion blurring the distinction between them.

It is to be noted that the above-mentioned winged giant of Ikafalva is not called a tündér (indeed, rarely do tündérek have wings and having them is no proof that the creature is a tündér: angels, horses and dragons can have them). He is a frightening character, mentioned in sequence--strangely--after a legendary man (Ika) and before the huge, man-eating snake that is killed by a foreign knight. It could be that the figure of the giant is blurred with that of the dragon here, but there is not sufficient evidence to reach a conclusion on the basis of one example, nor can we set up a new category on account of it.

The character of the giant could be blurred not only with that of the tündér, but also with that of leg-

endary men. The adjective nagy means both big and great; thus, what to one generation is merely a great man and a mighty warrior, might very easily turn into a giant in the mental image of succeeding ones--at least into a modestly sized, nine foot tall hero. It is therefore not surprising that the context in which the giants appear in the Székely legends, in connection with forts (in twenty-seven of the twenty-nine instances, versus only eleven out of twenty-five in the Saxon corpus) is the same one in which the figure of the warrior, the national folk-hero or the military aristocrat appears. Indeed, the difference between one of these men and a giant is sometimes merely a word:

030

At SÓVÁRAD there are some ruins, called Csombod Vára (Csombod's Fort). At one end of the area that the ruins cover there is a huge hole in the ground. Tradition has it that a large tower used to stand on this spot, the dwelling of a man named Csombod.

Csombod was a mighty warrior and the lord of the fort. He was a powerful man and had such a strong voice that, whenever he wanted to ride his coach down the narrow road leading down from the fort into the valley, he would shout down, to make sure no-one would start up the hill.

In his tower Csombod had a bell so large that its

ringing could be heard far away in the next two forts, Rabsonné Vára and Maka Vára (Mrs. Rabson's fort and Maka's Fort); it was rung to summon help in time of danger. At the bottom of the tower there was a tunnel, providing an escape route to the foot of the mountain. Next to the tower was the fort's well.

When the Tartars came, they surrounded the fort, then stormed it. Csombod and his knights held out stubbornly, until their food gave out. They rang their bell, but in vain: the other forts, themselves under siege, could send them no relief.

Resigned to the hopelessness of the situation, Csombod sank his treasure and his bell into the deep well, then escaped with his men through the tunnel. The Tartars entered the fort and razed it, but knew nothing about the treasure: it is still there, at the bottom of the earth-filled well.

At the foot of the mountain there is a spring that spews a reddish water: it is tainted by the treasure it washes. And a hill nearby is called Örömök Dombja (Hill of Joys), because it was from this hill that the <u>yezér</u> (general) of the besieging horde directed the battle, and it was here that he celebrated his victory (IV, 22).

Csombod is not a giant, yet it would be possible to substitute a giant for him, without touching the essence of the legend. The situation, his strength, his voice

(cf. 08) and his bell (cf. 018) would all fit very well into a giant legend. Only the Tartars would have to be dropped as the enemy, since their mention assigns the happening to a historical period and therefore to the ranks of the historical legend.

What we see here is, in fact, a Wechgelwirkung, a mutual interference, a mutual exchange or transfer of motifs, characters and elements between two legend types. We can say either that here the giant has been demythologized and placed into a historical context, or that the legendary hero has become partially mythologized and been given the attributes of a giant. The latter seems more probable: it is easier to see a man as a giant than to see a giant as a mere man.

The Saxons do not exhibit an equal tendency to mythologize. While the Székely giant is always a lord and sometimes even a king (015, 018, 022, 025), the Saxon is a carpenter (M23), a woodsman (M10) or a mason (M24) and even though he may rule the land, he is never a heroic type. The Székely giants fight bitterly to the end (018) and their bones cover the battleground (015); even where this is not clearly stated, the presence of buried treasure hints at a battle and sudden flight from the enemy. The end of the Saxon giants is, by contrast, made light of: the giant breaks his neck on a bet (M24), or is taken to the village judge before he dies (M23). These yarns are

obviously meant to amuse, told tongue-in-cheek. The closing formula, that the giant's shirt, shinbone or portrait was still on display "not long ago" clearly shows this. The Székelys told no equivalents to these tall tales: the only case of humor they displayed in connection with giants was a little wry, the point of the legend in question not being giants at all, but the settling of Rumanians in Transylvania (026).

The Saxons spoke of their giants in connection with churches--real or imaginary--in six instances (M3, M6, M9, M12, M20 and M24). The Székelys did so only once (018), but it is fairly certain that the motif is foreign to them: it is not the church at Nagypatak, the place of recording, that the giant in question built, but the "cathedral at Brassó"--none other than the famous Black Church of Kronstadt, the most imposing of the Saxon churches.

The motif of the giant's daughter and the plowmen is common to both nations: Müller recorded it eight, Orbán a total of six times (M15-M22 and 015-018, 022 and 024), in several variants. In all cases it serves to demonstrate the size of the giants and to forecast their impending doom. One cannot avoid feeling that there should be something else connected with this motif, that it formed, at one time, part of a more complex whole--but the Transylvanian tradition is silent about that. The

most nearly complete, or at least logical variant is probably that of the Székelys at Torja (022).[38]

In only one Saxon legend, that of Sächsisch Regen (M11) do we find anything reminiscent of classical or Germanic mythology: the giants fight on the cloud-covered peaks and it thunders, announcing the end of the giants--as of the gods. But precisely because it is a single occurrence, it is a little suspect. It could easily have filtered down from "above." The effect of literary feedback can never be discounted, especially in an area with a relatively well-developed middle class and a proportionally high literacy rate--and among both Saxons and Székelys the probability of this is unfortunately (for the folklorist) high.

In one instance, at Maldorf (M12) the Saxons placed giants into the same context with dwarfs, into an either-or relationship. The Székely pulyák, on the other hand, appear merely as guardians of treasure (028). Both of these legends are highly unusual, since, as will be shown, the "little people" were not at home in either Saxon or Székely Transylvania.

[38]Grimm's legend #17, "Das Riesenspielzeug"--a more logical variant--may be the literary source of these items. If so, it is interesting that the obvious reference to the feudal lord ("Baut der Bauer nicht sein Ackerfeld, so haben wir Riesen . . . nichts zu leben") has disappeared in the Transylvanian versions. The social structure of the Székely and Saxon lands was different from that of Elsass; the Grimm version would have made little sense here.

Finally: giants of both nations formed hills or mounds, but the rarity of the motif (M5, M7, M8 and O17) is surprising in a mountainous country. One other mound legend was connected with giants: the hills at Birk were said to be their graves (M25).

B. Tündér Legends

In the foregoing we have already become acquainted with the tündérek, but have been able to establish little more about them than the fact that, although they were on occasion confused--or, rather, classed together--with giants, they were nonetheless not identical with them, and had an independent, legendary existence of their own. We have mentioned that, in all cases save one, to be examined below, the tündérek appeared to be female. But we still need to answer the question: what kind of a mythical character did the Székely of a century ago think of, when he spoke of tündérek, not in Märchen, but in local legends, in the context of his specific environment?

This is strictly a Hungarian--in our case Székely--problem, for in the Saxon legends there is no trace of any character that could be called the equivalent of the Székely tündér. In some cases, as we have seen, the Saxon giant's daughter could be substituted for her; in others, witches or ghosts will play roles similar to that of the tündérek. Yet none of these substitutions is ever entirely

satisfactory and such replacement cannot be made consistently, in every context.

The word tündér is regularly translated into English as "fairy." The equivalence of the two terms is taken for granted and has never, to the writer's knowledge, been questioned, even by Hungarian scholars. Yet, if this translation is good enough, for all practical purposes, when dealing with Märchen, it is found somewhat lacking when applied to the Székely local legend. Hungary's Jacob Grimm, Arnold Ipolyi, tried to trace tündér back to the verb tünni: to disappear, vanish.[39] Whatever the correct etymology of the word may be, he was certainly right in one sense: the tündér is an elusive creature, as hard to grasp in her essence as she is to spot in the light of a summer moon.

Before we can reach a conclusion, we have to examine the additional material available. In addition to the eight cases already presented above (019-026), Orbán recorded the following tündér legends:

031

At SÁROMBERKE, on the mountain Réva Erdő (Réva Woods) there are ruins of a fort whose name has long ago been forgotten. In its cellars there is a treasure, guarded by tündérek who bathe in the Maros River on moon-

[39]Arnold Ipolyi, Magyar Mythologia, 3d. ed. (Budapest, 1929), I, 128.

lit nights. Once a shepherd boy stumbled onto the entrance of the cellars, went in and brought out two hatsful of gold, which he hid in the hollow of a tree; but when he was coming out the third time, the door slammed shut and cut off a part of his heel. While he was recovering, an old man happened to build a fire under the same tree and found the molten gold in its ashes. The old man became rich and his family are wealthy to this day (IV, 192).

032

A hill at MEZŐSÁMSOND is called Pogányvár (Pagan Fort), because the pagan Székely ancestors are said to have worshiped their god here. The fort--of which there are some traces--used to belong to a Lord Sámsond; his people founded the village and named it after him.

In the Pogányvár there is a cellar full of a treasure, sealed tightly by an iron door. Beautiful tündérek guard it. But on moonlit nights they go bathe in the lake at the bottom of the hill.

Once they forgot to lock the door and a shepherd went inside. He brought out two loads of treasure, but was caught by the tündérek on the third round. The door slammed shut and he was trapped. Seven years he spent underground and survived by licking white rock. Then the door opened and he came out, but the light of the sun blinded him, and he had to spend the rest of his days a

sightless, poor beggar (IV, 201).

033

In the Kincsesdomb (Treasure Hill) at MEZŐMADARAS there is a cellar, filled with an immense wealth. Its door, guarded by tündérek, opens every seventh year (IV, 204).

034

On the Vártető (Fortress Top) near NAGYGALAMBFALVA there are remains of huge fortifications. Next to the road leading up to them there is a large water-hole, the so-called Feneketlen Tó (Bottomless Lake), which used to be the well of the fort. During a siege, the fort's treasure was sunk in it; it is still there, guarded by szellemek (spirits). In the water-hole there is also a run of gold; this is guarded by a huge, white snake. And flowers still grow around the well, where the fort's garden used to be: they grow in the footprints of the tündérek who dance there by night (I, 30).

035

A Székely rabonbán[40] named Maka or Makra used to

[40]Legendary, pagan Székely lord. The word has been traced back to the Csiki székely krónika (Székely Chronicle of Csik), which Lajos Szádeczky has proven a forgery. An entire literature grew up around it in 19th century Hungary. This would be a clear-cut case of literary feedback, if we could be certain that the term was not thrown in by Orbán himself, who did not yet doubt the authenticity of the Krónika. See L. Szádeczky, A csiki székely krónika (Budapest, 1905).

have a fort on the other bank of the Küküllő River, facing MAKKFALVA. After its garrison evacuated it and established the village, golden-haired tündérek took it over. At night one can still hear their music as they dance around the walls of the fort (IV, 25).

036

A fort that once stood on Mt. Bocsok, at MEZŐKÖLPÉNY, is said to have been built by Turks. People even claim to know that they used to signal from here to the Pogányvár (Pagan Fort) at Mezősámsond (cf. 032) with horns. But it is also said to have been the dwelling of tündérek (IV, 201).

037

At HOMORÓDALMÁS there is a cave inhabited by dwarfs and tündérek. King Darius' treasure, which he hid here while he was running from the Scythians, is still believed to be in this cave (I, 191).

038

Near the Kistelek section of the town of MEZŐBÁND, where a fort called Omlásvára (Fort Collapse) is said to have stood, tündérek still dwell on the hill. They have a tunnel, through which they go down to the lake to bathe. They force passers-by to dance with them there (IV, 207).

039

Tündérek force passers-by to join in their dancing at a place called Zsuzsa Vára (Susan's Fort) at HOMORÓD-SZENTPÉTER, where Zsuzsa Sándor, daughter of an ancient Székely family, is said to have had a fort, and where there is supposed to be buried treasure (I, 168).

040

Tündérek still live in the ruins of a fort at VÁRFALVA, called Fütyer Vára (Fütyer's Fort), or simply Tündérvár (V, 194).

041

Tündér Ilona, often referred to as the legendary tündér-queen of Transylvania, occupied the two forts whose ruins are on the Királyhegy (King Mountain) and the Kálvária, at the village of BODZAFORDULÓ. At night, she and her tündérek would come down and dance near the Király Kutja (King's Well).

Once the Turks broke into the country through the Bodza Pass, and the people, led by priests carrying the crucifix, attacked them here, shouting "Jézus" as their battle cry. The tündérek, who were pagans, were frightened off by all this, and moved away forever, into the mountains. But occasionally, on quiet nights, their charming song can still be heard over the trees, although they never show themselves to men anymore.

There is a treasure buried at the Király Kutja, the fabulous treasure of King Darius. The treasure "blooms" (gives off a bluish flame) every St. George's day (VI, 84-85).

042

On the Várhegy (Fortress Mount) of KOVÁSZNA, there is a cistern called the Kővéka (Stone Bushel). This is where the secret entrance is said to be to the vaults where Tündér Ilona, one-time possessor of the fort, hid her treasure. The entrance to the cellars is guarded by a magic rooster that only sleeps once every seven years. When he sleeps the door opens, and anyone happening to be there at such a time can bring out some of the diamond flowers with which the cellar walls are decorated. Near the ruins of the fort there are traces of a once blossoming orchard: this used to be Tündér Ilona's garden. The tündérek still come on moonlit nights to water the flowers that grow there (III, 155).

043

People claim that the tündér queen Ilona's tremendous treasure is concealed in cellars under the ruins on the Kebelei Tető (Top of Kebele) at KEBELE (IV, 181).

044

A section of an old Roman highway is called Trajan Utja (Trajan's Road) by the people of JOBBÁGYFALVA. But

it is believed by some that Tündér Ilona built it, so she could more easily go from her fort at Mikháza to see her lover at Gyulafehérvár. She could not finish it for all her magic power, though, because other tündérek, jealous of her beauty, kept destroying that which she built (IV, 83).

045

On a mountain top near KÖSZVÉNYESREMETE, simply called Vár (Fort), there are ancient ruins. Nearby there is a short section of a road. Tündér Ilona's daughter lived here. She wanted to have a road built from here to her mother's fort at Mikháza, and made a contract with the Devil for the purpose, who agreed to build it for a valley of silver and a mountain of gold. When the road was finished and the Devil came to collect his fee, Tündér Ilona's daughter turned her closed fingers and thumb upward, placed a gold coin on their tips, and put another coin of silver into the middle of her palm, saying "Here is your valley of silver, and here your mountain of gold." In his anger at being so cheated, the Devil ran off and kicked the road to pieces (IV, 94).

046

On the ÉNLAKA side of Mt. Firtos there is a group of rocks which, when viewed from a distance, resembles a coach. It is called Tündér Ilona Kocsija (Tündér Ilona's

Coach).

The tündérek of Fort Firtos used to go for joyrides on moonlit nights. But once they forgot the time: the cock crowed and their wagon was turned to stone.

But other people call the same rock formation Jenőné Kocsija (Mrs. Jenő's Coach) and explain that this Jenőné was the wife of a pagan Székely lord named Jenő, who founded the settlement. Mrs. Jenő, they add, was an evil, atheistic woman. Once, when she was out for a ride, her driver told her: "God willing, we'll soon be home,"--to which she snapped back "We'll get there, whether he's willing or not." No sooner had she uttered this blasphemy than she and her coach were turned to stone (I, 125).

047

Facing ÉNLAKA, a cliff of Mt. Várlaposa (Fort Plateau) has, when viewed from afar, the appearance of a saddled horse. It is called Firtos Lova (Firtos' Horse).

A beautiful tündér once lived in Fort Firtos. She loved a human youth. Her father forbade her to love a lower being, but the two lovers would meet secretly at night, in the gilded garden of the fort. One night, when the youth rode up the steep slope to see his love, his horse stumbled and lost its footing: the tündér girl tried to grab him, but was herself yanked down into the abyss. The two young lovers were thus united in death.

The horse remained stuck at the top of the cliff; in time it turned to stone and became a part of the mountain (I, 128).

048

Close to FIRTOSVÁRALJA there are two mountains, Firtos and Tartód. On the first there is a fort still in fairly good condition, while the second bears a fort in utter ruin.

Firtos and Tartód were tündér sisters. They lived in the age when the land was still covered with water and the mountaintops jutted from the sea. Firtos was the tündér of good, Tartód of evil; and Tartód was always envious of her sister.

When the waters began to recede and the chaos to mount, Firtos thought she would build herself a fort to live in. Hearing this, Tartód decided to do the same. She sent word to Firtos, saying she would build a much better fort and, what is more, would have it done that evening and still have time enough to steal the cornerstone of her sister's fort to add to her own, before midnight.

Firtos was already finished when Tartód flew over at the head of a swarm of tündérek. They pried the cornerstone of Firtos' fort from its place, stuck it on a pole and flew off with it. But, just as they were over the village of Korond, the cock crowed for midnight; their pole snapped and the stone fell to the ground. It can still be

seen there, a huge rock with a hole through it. Tartód was punished by God for her envy, however: that same night her fortress fell to ruin (I, 127).

049

A hill at TORDÁTFALVA is called the Ebédlőmál (Dining Mountain). That is because the tündérek traveling between the forts of Firtos and Kadács used to stop here, at the halfway point, to eat (I, 119).

050

At PARAJD there are ruins of a fort allegedly built by András Rákóczi, an ancestor of the famous Rákóczi family (princes of Transylvania in the 17th century). András fought a battle with the Tartars here, but lost it; the Tartars then razed his fort.

Most people, however, call the fort Rabsonné Vára (Mrs. Rabson's Fort). They say Mrs. Rabson was a sister of Mrs. Firtos and Mrs. Tartód, and add that she had her fort built with the help of a magic rooster and a magic cat. The candles in all three forts would always be lit at the same time.

The dike-like rampart that runs across most of the Székelyföld is called Rabsonné Utja (Mrs. Rabson's Road) here; at this point it is badly torn up. The Devil built it for Mrs. Rabson, so that she could drive to church on it, to Torda. But he made the same deal with her as he

had with Tündér Ilona's daughter, and fared just as badly (cf. 045). This road, too, he destroyed in his anger.

Mrs. Rabson liked to drive fast. Once, when her coachman wanted to stop to pick up the hat which the wind had blown from his head, she told him not to bother, saying that it was already at least five hours behind them.

Mrs. Rabson was the queen of the golden-haired, winged tündérek that used to live on the mountain Barátságtető.[41] These tündérek would accompany her on her visits to her sisters at forts Firtos and Tartód.

On the side of the Barátságtető there is a cave. Once the tündérek invited a shepherd to join them there in a celebration. For three days he ate, drank, sang and danced with them, and played cards. He won a hatful of gold, which he took outside and dumped on the ground. Then he went in for more--but the tündér-world had disappeared, and, by the time he came out again, his gold had turned to cinders.

Another cave nearby is called the Deszkásvár (Fort of Boards), because its entrance used to be boarded up in times of war, when it served people as a place of refuge. Mrs. Rabson's treasure is believed to be hidden in this cave. Once a few treasure hunters went in and found an

[41]Literally: "Friendship Top," but in the original sense probably Monks' Top (Hung. barát: friend; monk). Possibly this was the site of a monastery.

iron door there, with three huge locks. They broke the locks, the door opened with a thunderous sound, and the treasure was revealed. Then a frightening voice spoke from the cave: "Human life was sacrificed when this treasure was hidden, and human sacrifice is required to take it out!" The treasure hunters ran out in horror; a huge boulder crashed down behind them, sealing the entrance forever (I, 137-38).

051

At BALÁNBÁNYA, where, as we have seen above (023), Tündér Ilona had a fort, there were other tündérek living in the countryside. They lived on the mountaintops or in rose thickets, and, occasionally, behind waterfalls. These tündérek tolerated no neighbors about them.

One of them was called Tarkő (Bald Rock). She lived in the mountains of Gyergyó, with her two daughters, Maros and Olt.

Maros and Olt could not get along with one another. Maros, the first-born, kept trying to outdo her more agile, fiery sister, without being able to do so.

One day Tarkő was sitting on the balcony of her brass palace, sighing and sad; her daughters, themselves downcast at their mother's unhappiness, asked her what was wrong.

"There are two reasons for my unhappiness," she told them, "that you two cannot live in peace, and that I am forced to live apart from your father. Know ye, that there

is one higher than we tündérek, one who has lived since the beginning of time. This Mighty One, having seen that the tündérek of fire, water, earth and air lived in constant strife, decided to set limits to our freedom, and commanded that order be established. Your father, too, has been ordered far, far from here. His realm is a mighty water, which men will one day call the Black Sea. I long to see him, but cannot, for his element is water and mine is land; and eternal order cannot yield to personal desire.

Hearing this, Maros and Olt became strongly desirous to go join their father. Reluctantly, Tarkõ turned them into a river, but since they could not agree to the name under which they would travel, they split into two streams. Maros, the slower one, set off toward the plains of the West, while her sister, Olt, headed toward the mountains to the south.

Olt broke through the Verestorony Pass, but bcecame so exhausted that she was about to turn into a lake when, not far from Nikopol, she heard a roar. She saw a powerful river before her (the Danube); her sister's waters were mingled with it. Maros told her: "Come, join us! This giant stream, which has come ten times the distance we have, has taken me in, together with another river (the Tisza), the guardian that carried me a part of the way; come, this great stream is our half-sister and will lead us to our father."

Olt joined them, and they soon reached their father, who received them with open arms. They were swallowed up and disappeared in his realm (II, 295).

052

In the Uz Valley at KÁSZONFELTIZ there are remnants of an old fortress, called the Kőkert (Rock Garden). People say it used to be the hunting lodge of a Gothic prince, who hunted men as well as beasts.

Others say an evil tündér used to dwell there. Every year he would kidnap a girl from the Black Sea. Once he kidnapped the most beautiful daughter of the waves, with whom the King of the Water Women was in love. The king gave chase and caught the evil tündér just as he reached the Kőkert. With the words "vessz el, büdös" (perish, stinker), he seized the tündér and, amidst a horrible thunderstorm, stuffed him under a huge rock.

At the bottom of this rock there is a mineral spring spewing a foul-smelling, medicinal water. It sprang from the spilled blood of the tündér kidnapper (II, 256).

If we now analyze the foregoing, we see first of all that the Székelys mentioned tündérek to Orbán a total of thirty times, in twenty-eight localities (Balánbánya and Énlaka both count twice, with two distinctly separate legends each, 023 and 051, and 046-047, respectively). Thus, tündérek and óriások had about the same frequency of men-

tion--thirty and twenty-nine. We can therefore conclude that these two mythical characters enjoyed about equal popularity with the Székelys. By contrast, only giants were mentioned by the Saxons.

With regard to the sex of the tündérek, it can now be proved that, when a Székely mentioned them in the last century, he was generally thinking of female beings. To be sure, this is not always obvious at first glance, since the Hungarian language makes no distinction in gender, being unable to differentiate male and female, even in its pronouns. Context is the only guide where a differentiation must be made. With the tündérek we can see that, in ten of the thirty instances presented, the tündér was named: and all so named were female (Tündér Ilona in 023 and 041-046, Mrs. Firtos and Mrs. Tartód in 048 and 050, Queen Tarkő with daughters Maros and Olt in 051, and Mrs. Rabson in 050). In six further cases they were not named but still stated to be female (020, 022, 024-026 and 047). Finally, in eight instances the tündérek were women by implication: they sang, danced, swam in the river by moonlight, and had flowers growing in their footsteps (021, 031-032, 034-035, 038-039 and 041). Altogether that makes a total of twenty-three cases out of thirty, or nearly eighty per cent, attesting to the femininity of the tündér. There is no hint as to their sex in five instances (033, 036-037, 040 and 049), but there is no reason to think

they are not female.

The character of the King of the Tündérek appears in two items (019 and 022). He himself is not called a tündér, however, and seems to correspond to the giants we have discussed above--although at Bükszád (019) the giants build a fort for him, indicating a difference between them. Once again we see here that there is no sharp distinction made among the characters of the Székely legend, and that the same characters that get along well in the Märchen continue, to a lesser degree, to coexist in the local legend.

But this still leaves the evil creature of Kászonfeltiz (052), stated to be male--and a tündér.

This legend does not fit the general tündér pattern at all. In reality it is a thing legend: a legend to which some object in the physical world--here, a foul-smelling mineral spring--gave rise. The motif of a spring flowing from the blood of someone killed is a frequently recurring one among the Székelys. In this case, since the water is foul, it is logical to place an evil creature in the context. A female tündér would have been incongruous, thus it had to be made male. Possibly, also, there is a carry-over from the Gothic prince mentioned in the same context. Whatever the explanation may be, the male tündér of Kászonfeltiz, being a single occurrence, does not disprove the conclusion that, by the end of the nineteenth century, at least, the word tündér suggested a female

being to the Székelys, and that unless more evidence is found to indicate otherwise, any exceptions to this are the result of interference, or confusion of motifs in the minds of the individual legend tellers themselves.

Although it is not proof of their origins, there is in these legends just a hint that the tündér was a hundred years ago still associated in the popular mind with an ancient paganism. In one case the tündérek are flatly called pagans (041); in two, they are associated with places believed to have been pagan places of sacrifice (the Pogányvár at Mezősámsond, 032, and the Bálványosvár at Torja, 022). In one other instance, at Mezőkölpény, they were connected with a Turkish fort--and the pagan Székelys and Hungarians, as we know, often called themselves Turks or were labeled that by their neighbors (no Ottoman fort ever stood in the Székelyföld). At Énlaka, Jenőné, wife of a legendary pagan leader, was placed in the same context with Tündér Ilona (046). Tündérek also represent the forces of good and evil (048) or the four elements (051), and are put back into the diluvian times following the creation (048, 049 and 052).

In this connection we also note that, whereas the giants of both nations are mortal creatures, the tündérek are not. We have, to be sure, seen two cases of the death of a tündér (020 and 047); but in both of these she had fallen in love with a human youth, losing thereby, as it

were, her immortality. A third instance is the death of the male tündér of Kászonfeltiz (052), who is killed by another mythical character, the King of the Water Women. Any way one looks at it, this legend does not fit the general pattern. No other tündér dies; quite the contrary: in eleven instances they are reported as still present (021, 024, 031-035, 037, 038, 041 and 042). In this sense, they can also be called superstitious characters, and, although this constitutes no proof, it is quite possible that some Székelys still believed in their existence a hundred years ago, in the same way that other peoples believed--and still believe--in the existence of witches and ghosts.

With the tündér legends we again encounter the difficulty that is so often a source of frustration to the folklorist: the existence of previously published, popular accounts. In our case it is exactly the most interesting and complex legends--those about Mrs. Rabson (050), Tarkő, Maros and Olt (051) and the sisters Firtos and Tartód (048)--that had seen print, in one variation or another, before Orbán recorded them. In all three of these cases, the collector states emphatically, "én a nép szájából vettem" (I took it from the mouth of the people). Nonetheless, the possibility of literary feedback cannot be excluded.

The legend of Rabsonné was first published by Lász-

ló Kőváry.[42] He gives his source simply as "népmonda után"--after a folk-legend, without, unfortunately, even giving the place where he recorded it (if, indeed, he was the one to do so), although the setting of his variant is identical with that of Orbán's. Kőváry's version is essentially the same, only less complete: it does not include the building of the fort and the treasure elements. Firtos and Tartód were also published by Kőváry first.[43] And Tarkő's story, or rather the etiological legend of the Maros and the Olt rivers, was first written up and published by Károly Móricz in a popular magazine.[44] From there it was picked up by a friend of Kőváry, Dániel Dózsa, a poet of slight literary significance who was nevertheless widely read in his lifetime, and hammered into an "epic," a work which was then, in turn, published by Kőváry.[45] In Dózsa's fancy version, Maros and Olt are boys.

Orbán knew of these versions and gave them proper credit. But he emphasizes that his source was "the people."

Much the same thing can be demonstrated about Tündér Ilona. Although her name and figure were known to Hungarians long before Orbán's collecting activity, partic-

[42] Erdély régiségei, p. 178; also in Száz történelmi rege, pp. 100-103.

[43] Erdély régiségei, p. 185; Száz történelmi rege, pp. 68-69.

[44] Nemzeti Társalkodó (National Tattler)(1837), p. 365.

[45] Erdély régiségei, p. 32 et seq.; Száz történelmi rege, p. 77 et seq.

ularly in Transylvania,[46] it so happens that Dózsa also worked her into an "epic" about this time. Kőváry published this poem, too, in Száz történelmi rege.[47] The writer has not been able to determine how many copies of this work were printed; but it is a cheap paperback that sold for one pengőforint (about twenty cents at the time) and was obviously meant for mass consumption. Furthermore, since it was published in Kolozsvár, Transylvania, and since it was of interest chiefly to the Transylvanian reader, it is safe to assume that most copies circulated there. Thus it is possible that at least the name of this particular tündér was made popular at the time by the Kőváry book.

An episode in connection with Dózsa's "Tündér Ilona" is most enlightening in shedding light on the scholarly atmosphere of the times. Kőváry suggested an interpretation of this "legend," according to which Tündér Ilona represented Dacia (the Roman name of Transylvania), while her lover, Prince Argirus, symbolized Rome. Now this interpretation is--at least from our vantage point, a century later--admittedly far-fetched, although certainly no more so than many other "scientific" interpretations of the day. Müller, who in general was impatient with anything Hungarian, gives Kőváry broadside after broadside on account

[46] See Ipolyi, op. cit., I, 131-33.

[47] Pp. 36-61. A shorter, prose version by Kőváry had appeared also in Erdély régiségei, pp. 21-24.

of it. Speaking of the metamorphosis Sage--Märchen, he states: "Die Sage suchte aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte zu ersetzen, was sie an das Märchen verlor." Then he adds:

> Dabei meine ich natürlich nicht solche Erzählungen, welche, wie die von Kővary Erd. rég. 21-24, Szász /sic/ tört. r. 36-61 nicht ohne einige Prätension mitgeteilte tündér Ilona, in ihrem Wesen weder magyarisch erscheinen, noch das geringste sagenhafte besitzen, sondern notdürftige und mit wenigen unbedeutenden nationalen (?) Zuthaten verquickte Zusammenstoppelungen deutscher und anderer Märchenstoffe sind.[48]

A footnote from the same page will serve to give a brief account of an otherwise tiringly lengthy folktale:

> Der König als Besitzer des Baumes mit den goldenen Äpfeln, der Diebstahl an diesen, die Wache der drei Söhne, die glückliche Entdeckung des Diebes erscheinen bei Grimm (grosse Ausg. 1850) I. 335 im hessischen Märchen vom goldenen Vogel, welches, wie III. 98 bemerkt wird, fast in ganz Europa bekannt ist. Im Märchen vom Eisenofen II. 230 sucht eine Jungfrau den Geliebten und trifft ihn im fernen Schlosse als Bräutigam einer Andern, erwirbt sich dreimal die Erlaubnis bei ihm zu schlafen, kann sich ihm aber nicht entdecken, weil er jedesmal einen Schlaftrunk erhalten hat. Das ist nach K. die erste Bekämpfung Daciens durch Trajan, hier in einem hessischen Märchen. Auch die übrigen Züge dieser Kompilation lassen sich glücklicherweise nachweisen. Die Episode von den drei um Schuhe, Mantel und Peitsche zankenden Riesen erscheint bei Gr. II 45 (Mantel, Stiefel und Schwert; in andern Märchen Stock, Mantel und Pferd). Originell ist nicht einmal die so unzarte Liebesprobe am Schlusse, da sie im Wesen mit unserer walachischen Sage Nr. 298 übereinstimmt.[49] In Haltrichs durchaus volks-

[48]Müller, "Vorrede zur zweiten Auflage," pp. xxix-xxx.

[49]In which a man's dog is proven to be more faithful

> mässiger im Juli 1856 erschienener und in vielen öffentlichen Blättern angekündigter Sammlung[50] liegen alle diese Züge ebenfalls vorhanden; Ipolyi hatte in seiner 1854 erschienenen Magyar Mythologia über K.'s Deutung den Stab gebrochen und dennoch wiederholt er sie in den Sz. t. r. (1857) 12, 62, noch mit dem Zusatze, dass Ilona wohl die der Sage nach in eine Blume verwandelte oder nach der siebenbürgischen Erzählung zu einer Fee gewordene griechische Helena sei.[51]

Müller would not have arrived at this conclusion if he had not ignored the following comment that Kőváry appended to his far-fetched interpretation of this obvious Märchen:

> E rege ős alakjában a középkor minden népe közt mint közös tulajdon volt elterjedve. Görgei Albert dolgozta ki azt magyarban legelsőbb, mely dolgozat azonban már nem kapható. Utána Piskolti Istvánnak jött kedve hozzá 1781-ben, a mint Olaszországban katonáskodék. Mit adtak e dolgozók hozzá, már ismeretlen. Jelen alakjában sok van benne, melynél fogva az erdélyiek e rege szinpadát Erdélyben keresik. Az erdélyi versio szerint . . ..[52]

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than his wife. In Dózsa's "Tündér Ilona" the hero, Argirus, tests Ilona's love by slapping her face three times. The similarity with Sage 298 is not obvious.

[50] J. Haltrich, Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen (Berlin, 1856).

[51] Müller, pp. xxix-xxx.

[52] This saga, in its ancient form was widely known, the common property of all peoples in the Middle Ages. Albert Görgei was the first to work it out in Hungarian, which version is no longer available. Then István Piskolti became inspired to do so in 1781, when he was soldiering in Italy. What these craftsmen added to it, can no longer be told. In its present form, there is much in it on account of which the Transylvanians believe that Transylvania is this saga's setting. According to the Transylvanian version . . .. Száz történelmi rege, p. 62.

It is only after this that Kőváry gives the "Transylvanian version." Though he accepts it, it is thus clearly not his own.

But Müller was so eager to prove that Kőváry and Dózsa were dishonest that he not only misinterpreted Kőváry, but also Ipolyi, to whom he refers in his own support. For, although it is true that the latter rejected Kőváry's stand on the question of interpretation, he also gave its source[53], from the catalog card of Hungary's National Széchenyi Library, which had a copy of the original Görgei version of the Tündér Ilona tale. According to the card, the title of the work was Argilus nevü királyfirul, és egy tündér szüzleányról história (History of a Prince named Argilus and a Tündér Virgin Maiden), without date or place of publication (but Ipolyi quotes a reference to it by the scholar Otrokócsi, in 1695[54]). But it is the bibliographic annotation on the card that concerns us: "Autor est Albertus Gergei, qui ex italico sermone, in hung. traduxit . . . fabella vero hac expressa esse dicitur subjugatae a romanis Daciae historia." And this is all that Kőváry is repeating, essentially--though Ipolyi rightly chides him for failing to specify the source of his information.

[53]Ipolyi, I, 131-32.

[54]Ibid.

Dózsa's version was, then, not a "Kompilation," but merely a reworking of an old Italian Märchen, one with a respectably long history in Hungarian.[55] What Dózsa did add to it was the name "Ilona," taking it from the legendary stock available to him as a Transylvanian. As we have already remarked, this may have served to popularize it just about the time that Orbán launched his tour of the Székelyföld. The fact is, however, that in none of Orbán's legends is anything mentioned in connection with Tündér Ilona that is in any way similar to Dózsa's poem--an this would seem to speak against the possibility.

An examination of the contexts in which the tündérek of the local legend appear is revealing. Again, as was the case with the Székely giants, they are connected with a fort--in all but three of the thirty instances. They are also connected with treasure, but not generally in the same way the giants were: except for Tündér Ilona (in 023, 044 and 045) and Rabsonné (050), they do not appear as its owners, but rather as its guardians (022, 024, 031-033). This fact puts them into the same category with spirits, magic animals and the Devil himself--as will be shown later.

[55]No one yet has pointed out a possible reason for the assumption that the tale is of Transylvanian origin. It could be that the name of the prince, Argilus, was equated with ardealus: Transylvanian. In the heavily palatalized dialects the Rumanians speak in certain parts of Transylvania, both of these words would be pronounced the same.

The tündér is vaguely connected with the forces of darkness in another way: she sometimes seems to be allied with them, much as a witch. Rabsonné has her fortress built with the help of a magic rooster and a magic cat, and drives to church at magical speeds (050; the identical motif, going to church at high speed, we have also seen in giant legend 021). Tündér Ilona's coach turns to stone with the rooster's first crow (046). The tündér of evil, Tartód, and her troop, drop the cornerstone of Firtos' fort at midnight (047). Rabsonné and Tündér Ilona's daughter even make contracts with the Devil (in 050 and 045; cf. the giants in 027). But when the Devil comes to collect, they cheat him. The contracts are not of the usual, Faustian sort, however, and show that the tündér and the Devil are on a somewhat similar footing: the bargain is for silver and gold, not for the possession of an immortal tündér soul.

The tündér is generally a good and friendly creature who does man no harm. When a treasure seeker comes, the tündérek first reward him; only if he is too greedy do they punish him. They are a happy race, who fill man's world with song and flowers, and occasionally become mortal because they love a man. Otherwise they are shy and rarely show themselves, although many a man would like to catch a glimpse of their beauty as they bathe in the river by moonlight.

In one instance, a tündér is equated with an angel (025). However, this is merely a convenient explanation for the name of the next village, Angyalos.[56]

C. Local Legends Based on Minor Mythical Characters

This section is devoted to the minor mythical figures in the legendary world of Saxon and Székely Transylvania--minor in the sense that their frequency of occurrence is low. In the Székely legends, we have already met some of these[57]: for example, the King of the Black Sea (051) and the King of the Water Women (052). These are both single occurrences, and no more can be said about them, except to repeat that the Balánbánya legend (051, with Tarkő, Maros and Olt) could have been the result of, or could at least have been influenced by, literary feedback, and that the Kászonfeltiz legend is inexplicably odd in its entirety. No other mention of water sprites occurs anywhere in the Székely corpus collected by Orbán. In the entire Saxon collection there is only one mention of them, in Müller's

[56] From Hung. angyal--angel, plus adj. end.: "place of angels."

[57] In a certain sense the Devil, too, could have been included in this chapter. He is, as we shall see, an important legendary character, and he sometimes appears in legends that are mythical (as in 027, 045 and 050). But he is much more often plainly a superstitious element, especially in the Saxon corpus; for the sake of simplicity in making analyses and comparisons, it is preferable to discuss him below, in the superstitious group.

legend number fifty-one, "Die Wasserfrau und ihre zwei Söhne":

M26

There was once, off the highway from MEHBURG to Reps, a beautiful woods, and in that woods a lake. The Wasserfrau dwelt in the lake. For a thousand years she did not know a man; and when she finally did, behold, after a year she bore two sons. She named the older Isian, the younger Isgau. When they grew up, their mother told them: "You have a choice of two fates. One of you will become a famous warrior, conquer a large land and become its king, but will be hated and in the end deposed by his subjects; the other will do no glorious deeds but will still become king and be happy. Choose!" Isian, the older son, chose the first fate, and the second was left for his brother.

Isian immediately found himself at the head of a huge army; he marched out of Transylvania with it, conquered a mighty country and had a capital built for himself. Since he was not mortal, he ruled many hundreds of years. But toward the end he started to lead a dissipated life and to mistreat his people. They rebelled, deposed him and chased him from the land. Now he was bitter and sought death, but could not find it. Insane, he wandered from one place to another, but was chased off everywhere. Finally he came back to his mother. She took pity on him, picked up her wand and, not saying a word, touched him with

it--and lo, he collapsed and died.

Isgau, the younger son, had stayed behind with his mother, at the lake. Whenever someone in the area suffered a misfortune, Isgau would stand by him and help; thus, for example, he would retrieve people's stolen cattle, fix their wagons that had become damaged in the woods, and protected travelers from highwaymen. After a long time, when the king died, he was elected in his place by the people, for no-one worthier could be found anywhere. Isgau moved into the palace and ruled with wisdom and justice, and the people loved him.

When the Saxons came to Transylvania, Isgau did well by them, and yet they brought about his death. For it happened that many of them settled near the lake and they cut down all the woods around it. The lake dried out slowly from the heat of the sun, and so the lives of Isgau and his mother were extinguished, like a lamp when it runs out of oil.

How much Müller added to this tale--and, at least stylistically he must have added to it considerably--we can no longer tell. It has been rendered in full translation here, because of its unusual content and beauty--for a local legend. Its being a legend at all is, however, questionable: structurally it resembles a Märchen that

has become localized.[58]

Giant snakes, too, have been mentioned in the Székely legends dealing with giants and tündérek: at Ikafalva, where the man-eating, huge snake that took over after the disappearance of the giant winged man was killed by a foreign knight (029), and at Nagygalambfalva, where a huge white snake was the guardian of buried treasure (033). In neither of these cases was the creature called a dragon (sárkány); but it falls into that category and has to be treated as such. There are other examples of legends where similar beasts are mentioned, with the difference that in them they are labeled sárkányok:

053

At ZSÁKOD, where a sárkány once dwelt in the swamps below the Sárkány Csorgója (Dragon's Fountain), there is a large limestone formation, built up in leaf-like layers. The dragon built it of weed leaves, and breathed on it to make it turn to rock. This dragon could be pacified only through the sacrifice of the region's most beautiful maiden each year. An ancestor of the Bethlen family finally killed it, and since that day the Bethlens have been counts and have borne a crowned snake in their coat of arms (I, 155).[59]

[58]The localization itself is not that of a legend, however, being in fact a formula: once upon a time there was a lake here . . ..

[59]The Bethlen shield legend has also been recorded

054

In ROSENAU (Brassó Seat), a village with a mixed population, a sárkány szerü szörny (dragon-like monster) still inhabits a cave called Ferenc Lyuka (Ferenc' Hole). The monster, whose roar can often be heard in the depths of the cave, often swallows people (VI, 368).

055

A sárkány guards the buried treasure on Mt. Gordon at FARKASLAKA (I, 106).

Müller also knows of the Ferenc Lyuka cave, which the Saxons call Frintschen-, Fintschen- or Fielschenloch, and reports the following about it:

M27

Rumanian shepherds say that a wild beast dwells in the cave and keeps people from entering (183).[60]

Outside of this, he mentions a giant snake in two instances:

M28

There used to be a giant snake in the cave Nonnenloch

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elsewhere, for example in Kõváry's Száz történelmi rege (p. 151), but without a locale.

[60] The fact that Rumanian shepherds are his source does not prevent Müller from placing this item in his "Deutscher Sagenkreis." He also gives Sibenbürgische Quartalschrift, III, 104, as a reference.

on the Kapellenberg at KRONSTADT, which would kidnap people from the valley below for its prey. Once it swallowed a student reading on the city wall, but became so thirsty that it burst from all the water it sucked up. The huge snake painted on the wall near the Kaserne represents this beast (184).[61]

M29

At ZEIDEN there used to be a giant snake that terrorized the countryside until the people killed it by stuffing a calfskin full of lime and leaving it for the snake to swallow. When the snake drank to quench its horrible thirst, it exploded (185).

In only two cases does Müller mention dragons as such:

M30

A dragon once lived in the Zwergelloch on the Wendchenberg at KREISCH and demanded a human sacrifice once a week (his name was, incidentally, Zwergel--83).

M31

A dragon once flew over KLEIN LOGDES "about forty years ago" spewing fire. This dragon "beseelte" a Rumanian girl, i.e., put her into a trance, of which her mother cured her by placing her on a bier and having all her

[61]Also in Unterhaltungsblatt für Geist, Gemüt und Vaterlandskunde, 1837, p. 77.

friends and relatives weep for her (83).

"Little people" are almost unknown in the Saxon and Székely local legends. The Székelys have already mentioned them twice, at Oltszem and Homoródalmás (028 and 037). Orbán recorded them at one additional locale:

056

At BEREKERESZTUR there is a small mound called Képes Domb (Picture Hill). Tradition has it that in the Catholic era (the village is staunchly Calvinist), processions coming from Mikháza used to stop here and that after the Reformation monks would stand on this hill to try to induce people to return to the old faith. Monks in rough cassocks and tiny, one-span tall gnomes with seven-span beards appear there at midnight now, to tempt and to frighten the passers-by (IV, 76).

Saxons mentioned "little people" a total of three times also. We have seen one example above, at Maldorf, where either they or giants were said to have built the church (M22). The other two are as follows:

M32

Dwarfs are said to have built the fortress at ROSENAU (31).

M33

A little man used to dwell in the woods where the

village of HOLZMENGEN (Sax. Hûzmängden) now stands. Regularly, once a week, he used to truck a load of wood to the market at Hermannstadt. No one knew his name; people just called him das Holzmandel. There was always something mysterious about him. When people saw how lucrative his business was, they moved into the woods; whereupon the Holzmandel disappeared. But the name stuck to the woodcutters that took his place: they are still die Holzmandel, and their village is also often called that, "even in writing" (32).

And with this our entire stock of mythical legendary characters is exhausted.

We have seen water sprites mentioned by the Székelys twice, by the Saxons once: but all were unusual, perhaps even doubtful examples of the local legend. Little people were mentioned three times by both groups. The example at Holzmengden, however, reads like a denominal legend, one derived from a name only; furthermore it is not at all clear whether a true, folktale-sized dwarf or merely a small human was thought of. The latter seems to be more probable. Dragons or dragon-like creatures were mentioned four times each by Székelys and Saxons, with one additional (actually Rumanian) example also claimed by both collectors (054 and M27). Of these, only one, the fire-spewing dragon of Klein Logdes (M31), was anything resembling the

usual western folktale conception of a dragon, and here, too, the teller was probably Rumanian--in any case the dragon is brought into context with Rumanians (and in both cases, as well as in 055, the dragon is more superstitious than mythical). In all other instances the dragon appeared as a giant snake or was not in any way described, although the sárkány of Zsákod (053), in spite of its connection with the snake in the Bethlen coat of arms, was probably also a fire-spewing dragon. Its turning weeds into stone with its breath would at least seem to indicate this.

The giant ants mentioned by the Székelys at Kézdi-szentlélek (010) seem to be merely a tall tale ending, and need not be taken seriously. The motif never occurs anywhere else.

III. SUPERSTITIOUS LOCAL LEGENDS

In this chapter we turn to the superstitious local legend, the second category to be considered here within the context of the material we are examining. We have already touched upon legends in this grouping above, particularly in the Székely corpus; we shall refer back to items already discussed where necessary, and deal with them again, in detail, this time from a superstitious aspect.

Before presenting the new material, it will be well to reexamine our working definition of what constitutes a superstitious legend. As stated above (pp. 37-38), for the purposes of this study a local legend is superstitious if it contains "present-tense" supernatural characters, that is, supernatural characters (including non-personified forces) believed to be operative in the immediate environmental microcosm by a substantial number of the interviewed group's adult members.

It is important to stress here that we are not dealing with pure and simple superstitions, for they, in themselves, are not legends, but erroneous beliefs of causality and existence (of events and beings). Thus, a belief in the existence of witches is, per se, a superstition; only when <u>particular</u> witches are believed to be

active at a given time and place do we potentially have a witch legend. In short, a legend always states--or at least implies--an event, a happening, past or present; a mere superstition does not do this.

It is obvious that any definition of what constitutes a superstition will always be relative: what is a cherished scientific explanation, a fact, in one era, may well become mere superstition in the next. Much depends on the Weltanschauung of the one seeking to provide the definition. The problem is particularly complicated by the fact that there is no incontestible philosophical or scientific way to separate religious beliefs from superstitious ones. Those who have attempted to draw such distinctions in the past have had to rely on philology to show which elements derived from Christian sources and which did not, so as not to come into conflict with the prevailing dogmas of their times. But here all contextual (i.e., non-abstract) synchronic belief in the supernatural will be treated as superstitious, whatever its etiology.

A. Witch Legends

If in the nineteenth century the tündér is the mythical character par excellence of the Székelys, the witch occupies a position of similar importance and exclusiveness among the Saxon superstitious figures. The Saxons not only mentioned the witch: they were preoccupied

with her. The Székelys, on the other hand, did not refer to witches in their local legends, even though we know that the word boszorkány (Hung. "witch") was an everyday item in their vocabulary, being familiar to them from historical sources, from certain Hungarian folktales and from various other types of folklore. Before an explanation for this paradox is attempted, let us look at the evidence, turning to Müller first:

M34

There were witches all through ROD once, and since they could not find any other amusement, they would set the grinders in the smithies spinning between eleven and twelve at night at such speed that people could hear them humming throughout the village (202).

M35

Between SEIBURG and Liewleng (Leblang) there is a well called Hexen- or Trudenbrunnen. One May night a poor farmer drove past it on his way home from the mill, hauling full sacks of flour. There he saw witches dancing by the well. His heart full of fear, he knew not what else to do but greet each witch politely as he passed her by. The witches were so moved that they cast a spell on one of his sacks, so that it should never again be empty (212).

M36

In MÜHLBACH a man saw a group of witches dancing on

a meadow near the mill. He greeted them:

Gott vermehr euch euren Tanz;
Gott vermehr euch euren Kranz!

And they replied:

Gott vermehr euch euren Sack,
Dass er niemals ledig wird!

And his sack was never again empty (212).[62]

M37

A man from ZENDRESCH once drove home from the mill and saw a countless number of witches dancing on the meadow. His son asked him: "Shall I throw the ax at them?" But the father replied: "Don't do that." And, passing the dancing figures, he said politely: "God bless your dance." "God bless your sack," they answered, and after that the farmer's sack was never empty, until he once foolishly told someone about it (188).

M38

Essentially the same tale as in M37 was told in TREPPEN (188).

M39

A legend similar to M37 was told in METTERSDORF, without the son; here the witches fly, dancing, over the farmer's head, with a frightful screeching. His curious wife leaves him no peace until he tells her about the sack, breaking thereby the magic spell (189).

[62]Also in BfGG&V, 1838, p. 280.

M40

During the Tartar invasion the citizenry of the Rösnerland (the Beszterce area) marched out against the enemy and set up a large camp at BAIERDORF. An old woman there undertook to supply the camp with fresh eggs. One morning she did not show up, and a Rösner was sent out to check on her. But he found only her little granddaughter at home. "Grandmother isn't here," the child said, "but the pot she uses for the eggs is behind the oven. She smears herself on the behind out of it when she is to deliver eggs." The curious burgher wanted to see for himself. He took the pot, dipped his hand in the salve that was in it and smeared himself with it on the spot indicated--and lo, all of a sudden he laid so many eggs that the whole camp had enough for several days (190).

M41

At MEIERPOT one winter there was a wedding, and two women offered to bring fresh fruit on the branch, with green leaves. A young boy who was curious where they would find such a thing at that time of year went out into the yard and hid in an old, empty barrel. Soon the women came out, climbed on the barrel and started to roll it, faster and faster, at an immense speed, across the land and over the sea. When the barrel stopped, they were in a beautiful garden full of magnificent fruit. The witches broke off a few plum and peach branches, hopped on the barrel again,

and back they went to the wedding, where the guests beheld with amazement the fruit, of unmatched beauty (205).

M42

A farmer from OBERNEUDORF left his wife and children and ran off with another woman to Moldavia. His wife tried everything to bring him back; finally she found a witch who, for a good fee, promised to whisk him back over the mountains. And so it happened: while the witch was busying herself with her cauldron, the woman heard a frightful clatter outside, and went out to see her husband sitting on a corncrib. They lived together after that, but not for long: the man had himself returned to Moldavia by similar means. This time, however, he let a penny drop at every bridge, to prevent his being brought back again. He died there later (207).

M43

A Rumanian woman from WERMESCH was brought home in the same manner as the farmer in M42. While flying, she hit the tower of Bistritz and was lame the rest of her days. She caught her apron on a bush in the vineyard near the village and had to go back to fetch it the next morning (207).

M44

At NADELN there is an odd oak tree, low, shaped like an umbrella. The oldest villagers say it always looked this way. The reason: witches dance in its branches.

Many people testify that they have heard their noise, their rustling and music (203).

M45

A hired hand from Mettersdorf served in BUDAK one summer. He slept outdoors, near the wall of the house. One night he was awakened by a horrible singing, jumping and dancing in the courtyard. He saw an army of black cats there, who kept up their antics until midnight. The next morning the frightened man told his master about it, saying he would not remain there any longer. But his master reassured him, and told him to call him at once if it happened again. The next night the hired hand was once more awakened, but saw, instead of cats, a mass of women doing a frightening witches' dance. He ran to fetch his master, who stepped to the window and whistled three times. The witches all scattered except for one, who told the man: "You are in luck with your boss, for he is our Hexenmeister and can order us around; otherwise you would have learned something from us that you cannot even imagine." The servant was not disturbed after this, but later he once saw that his master had a little, hairy tail on his back, about the length and the thickness of two fingers (191).

M46

Whoever knows witchcraft usually uses toads and ants to steal things from his neighbors. A farmer in GROSS-SCHENK once noticed that his grain was mysteriously dis-

appearing from his well-sealed crib. And, one day, "sure enough," he found a toad in it. He grabbed an ax to kill it, but could not do so, because he held it in his right hand. By the time he switched it to his left, the toad was gone (187).

M47

A gang of boys wanted to go across the bridge at ROD one night when they heard a loud meowing below. They saw a lot of black and white cats there. Wanting to chase them off, they threw rocks at them; but at the first throw the noise became deafening and thousands of cats attacked them, chasing them down the road. They barely managed to escape. The cats were witches meeting under the bridge (201).

M48

Whoever kills a snake under a hazelbush, puts a pea in its head, buries it, waits for the pea to bloom and sticks its first blossom in his hat, can conjure up all the witches in the neighborhood. But the witches will avenge themselves if he is not careful. A man did this once in SELIGSTATT, but protected himself by hiding behind piles of thorny branches that he had stacked up in his yard. He put the flower in his cap and was at once surrounded by a mass of witches and Hexenmeister, who tried to get at him but could not. After a while they retreated, throwing bricks and stones, but they did not forget him: once, when

he was driving a load of hay, they fell upon him and pinned him against the pointed ends of the wagon ladders so hard that he still bears the scars (204).

M49

Not long ago there lived in BURGHALLEN a man called der alte Schinker (i.e., the old man from Schink). Late one evening he was going home from the Kirchenmühle, when he met with witches on the road. He cursed them and raised his hand to strike out at them, but suddenly his arm became lame; and when he turned his head, his mouth became twisted out of shape. His arm healed in time (206).

M50

A witch in MÜHLBACH once fell in love with her own son-in-law and tried to kill her daughter with witchcraft. She made a wax candle exactly as long as her daughter was tall and lighted it. Luckily it was discovered in time; had it burned down completely, the daughter would have died. Even so, she became deathly sick (211).

M51

A woman in BULKESCH had only one cow, but it gave an unheard-of amount of milk. Her neighbor also had only one cow, but his would give no milk. The farmer grew suspicious: one day, while the woman was milking, he tied up his cow and beat it viciously. Suddenly the woman collapsed, dead. She died from his blows (215).

M52

It is told in ROD that a witch once came to a farmer in the shape of a toad while the farmer was eating hot porridge. Accidentally, a few drops fell on the toad's back. The toad left and the farmer finished his meal. A few weeks went by; the farmer had forgotten all about the incident, when an old woman came to him and gave his little boy a belt for a present. The farmer was suspicious, for the old woman was reputed to be a witch, but he accepted the belt--only he decided to try it out on his dog first. No sooner had he girded the animal with it when it whimpered and howled, swelled up and burst. The farmer thereupon denounced the woman to the courts. She was arrested and condemned. At her trial she confessed that she had wanted to avenge herself for the hurt the farmer had caused her (199).

M53

Witches often turn into black hens. If the hen is hurt, the witch shows the mark. An old man in GROSS-SCHENK once chopped off a toe of a "suspicious" black hen and then went to the court to demand a house-to-house search, to find the witch. The search was made, but the whole matter was dismissed; yet a certain woman had a finger missing after that. And when the old man's granddaughter went barefoot one night through the vestibule of their house, she suddenly felt a sharp pain in her feet. People

have tried to cure her, but nothing will help: she stepped into a Trudentrappe (193).

M54

A man in MÜHLBACH lost all his children but one; no one knew what had ailed them. Then his last child fell ill. One day the boy cried out for help. "Look, look," he cried, "there comes the woman who has been sucking at my heart." The parents saw an old woman pass by their window, carrying a basket. "She is now coming in the door," the child said, but the parents saw nothing. "Now she is behind the oven." The parents saw nothing. "Oh, she's sucking at my heart!" Still the parents saw nothing, until the child said "she has left me now." And, indeed, they saw the witch pass by again with her basket. A few days later the child died and the witch was denounced. She was tried by water; and though she managed to bring her body under, a little tail broke the surface. "Da war sie erkannt/ und wurde verbrannt" (210).

M55

After the Tartar invasion the plague decimated METTERSDORF. The people were fleeing the village, and reports were circulating that witches were about, who would murder entire families at night by biting, scratching and choking them. To stop the plague from spreading the authorities posted armed guards on the outskirts of the village, isolating it from the neighboring communes. Food

was delivered to the unfortunate Mettersdorfer to a place called de Hâl (hell) and the section of the Mettersdorf Hattert (range) facing Pintak was called the "Iron Gate." It is still a saying thereabouts: "Man reiset von Pintak durch das eiserne Tor und durch die Hölle nach Mettersdorf."

About this time two citizens of Bistritz heard that their rich relatives had perished in Mettersdorf, leaving behind only a baby girl. They armed themselves and went there to protect their claim to the property. They found the little girl in the house, peacefully asleep in her crib.

The men made themselves comfortable and started to drink. About eleven in the evening several cats dropped into the room through the chimney and started to jump and to dance around amidst frightful shrieks. One of the men grabbed his sword and hacked off the front paw of a cat, just as it was about to pounce upon the baby. Thereupon all the cats disappeared--but the severed paw turned into a human hand! Full of fright, the men went to the judge the next morning, who in turn took them to the preacher. At the latter's house they saw to their amazement and horror his wife bathed in blood, her hand amputated. The hand was brought out: it fit the stump. Not only that: there was a ring upon one of the fingers, and on its inner surface was etched the Pfarrerin's name. The woman now confessed and named nine accomplices: all were condemned to death by

fire. Before the sentence was carried out, however, a stake was driven through their backbones and the executioner carved the "Merkmale ihres Hexentums" from their bodies. It is said that no-one ever died of the plague in Mettersdorf after that (192; from Pintak). Some say that the great plague did not cease in Mettersdorf until nearly forty witches had been burned (61).

M56

"My grandmother was alive when it happened," the informant told Müller in SACHSISCH REGEN . . .. It was generally known that the wife of master blacksmith Foy Hannes was a witch. She withered the arm of Jookab Misch's son because his father had threatened her, and blinded her neighbor woman as the latter was baking bread one day, because she did not give her parseley right away. After a lot of pleading she cured both of them through salving and murmuring. Foy always referred to her as "that damned weather-witch." This witch was too proud to ride a broom: she would throw a bridle on one of the apprentices and ride him at night. In the morning the apprentice would wake up black and blue, but know nothing. Foy could not keep even the strongest apprentice longer than a week. In the end, he was forced to hire a wild youth, the son of a horse trader, who was himself a master craftsman--at breaking horses.

In this youth the witch met her match. He pretended to sleep the first night and when she came to him with the bridle, he quickly seized it, threw it over her head and mounted her; then he rode her to another smithy and asked the master to shoe the mare with red-hot irons, while he, himself, remained on her back. The master saw at once how matters stood and did as he was bid. No matter how the mare fought, it was to no avail: the smith and his helpers soon had her shod. Then the youth took a piece of pointed iron and drove her over hill and dale with it, till the blood ran from her sides. When his strength ebbed at last, he rode her slowly home, took off the bridle and went to bed.

The next morning, when Foy called his wife to breakfast, he found her in bed, ill; and when he removed the covers from her he saw, to his disgust, the horseshoes still nailed to her charred hands and feet, her body broken and marred. She died; her soul went to hell amidst curses and her body was buried between layers of dog-rose. "So möge es allen stolzen Truden ergehen!"

The youth went back to his trade and Hannes got back his apprentices. All the blacksmiths still speak of Foy Hannes with respect (208).

M57

A witch had been buried at MÜHLBACH, but continued to appear every night in the church yard. She would spread a

white cloth on the ground before the church door, and people who passed over the spot where it had lain the next morning would die within a few days. The Türmer (watchman) noticed the cloth one night and ran up to the tower with it. When the witch came to fetch it and found it gone, she looked up at the tower window and threatened him; but her time was up and she could not avenge herself on him. The watchman reported the matter the next day; the witch's grave was opened and she was found lying on her belly. A stake was driven through her back and she appeared no more (216).

M58

A Rumanian woman who had the reputation of being a witch died at MAGYARBÉNYE. Soon thereafter many people in the village died, whereupon the Rumanians marched out to the cemetery, their priest at their head, and opened her grave. They found her red (living) on one side and dead (yellow) on the other. They flipped her on her belly and drove a stake through her. She gave a deep sigh--and there was peace in the village after that. This is said to have been in 1833 or 1834 (217; from Bulkesch).

So far we have seen twenty-five witch legends from the Müller collection; these have met all criteria for being included here. The following is, however, a dubious example:

M59

A weaver had a wife who was a witch. He found this out from a neighbor, who urged him to see for himself by pretending to be drunk and feigning sleep while watching her actions. He did so one night and saw, about eleven o'clock, that she stepped in front of the oven, undressed and smeared a salve under her armpits. Quick as the wind she flew out the chimney. The weaver, curious, decided to test the salve, but first tied himself to a heavy loom as a precaution. He smeared himself and flew out the chimney, loom and all. Soon he found himself on a mountain-top, in the company of the Devil and all the witches, including his wife. They were drinking from skulls. The Hexenvater stepped up to the frightened weaver and asked what he sought there, and whether he wished to join their company. Trembling, he said yes, and was given a drink from a skull and a book from which to learn the witches' craft. His wife asked why he had brought along the loom. "I wanted to weave here," he replied. Thus, through his cleverness, he escaped harm, and made his way home after the banquet. The next morning he beat his wife to death and buried her in a dungheap. But he had no peace afterward: every night the witches danced and screeched before his door and every morning he found his wife's remains in front of the threshold. People then advised him to dig her up, turn her on her belly and drive a stake through her back. He did so, and the haunting ceased (209--from

Mühlbach).

This legend is suspicious for several reasons. The local connection is not stated; it is a little too fancy--it has too many motifs--when compared with the other witch legends we have seen, including motifs we have not encountered elsewhere; and it is almost an exact copy of two other Müller legends (#194 and #195, not rendered here), both of which are definitely not local (the latter's setting is Jena). This tale must have been popular in the Sachsenland at the time Müller made his collection: except for the vampire motif, missing from the others, all three variants are so close in their intricate details that one suspects the existence of a printed original somewhere.

These, then, are the usable legends--from our standpoint--in the Müller collection, in which the Hexe, the female witch, appears. Later we shall examine a few additional items in which the superstitious character, though similar, is not female. But first let the only Székely parallels to these be presented:

057

At MAGYARÓS one of the hills (formed by giants--cf. 026) is called Leányhegy (Girl Mountain). In the old days they buried maidens there. Another is called Ördöngős Domb (Diabolical Hill). They say the gonoszok (evil ones) hid their treasure in it. They still sing, dance and make merry on this hill at night (IV, 78).

058

Once a carpenter of HÉTFALU threw his ax into a whirlwind. Many years later he saw it again at an inn in a distant village. He asked the inkeeper's wife about it and she, in turn, pointed to a large scar on her foot, saying, "Yes, here is the mark it left. I'll give back your ax, but if you know what's good for you, you won't bother the szépasszonyokat (lit. "beautiful women") again (VI, 133).

These are the only items we find in Orbán's stock which can be classified here. But even these are obviously not clear-cut examples of witch legends.

For one thing, we note that boszorkányok--witches--are not mentioned as such in either of them. The fact that the creatures in 057 sing, dance and make merry on a hilltop at night does not yet make them witches: we have seen tündérek do the same (e.g. 034). Furthermore, they appear as owners of treasure, a role the Saxon witches never play, but one we have frequently seen tündérek in. We can point, too, to the name of the adjoining hill, Leányhegy: the word leány elsewhere has had a connection with tündérek (Leányvár, 020; Leánymezõ, 024). In fact, only the words gonoszok and ördöngös prevent the classification of 057 as another tündér legend. There is thus only one legend in Orbán's collection that fits the Saxon pattern, 058, in which the witch is associated with bad weather, with the

Wetterführer[63] and with flight through the air (rarely seen in connection with the tündér and then only in a mythical setting); these and the vicarious injury are all motifs familiar to us from the Saxon witch legends. But even here, curiously, the witches are called "beautiful women"--hardly the image the German Hexe brings to mind.[64]

How can we explain the richness of witch legends on the one hand and their paucity on the other? As mentioned, the concept of witches was as familiar to the Székelys of the nineteenth century as it was to their Saxon neighbors. How is it, then, that Orbán recorded only one legend about them (if we discount 057)?

We should at first glance suspect that Orbán himself might be responsible for the discrepancy because of his method of questioning. But he, himself, expresses surprise at hearing such a thing from a Székely and postulates that its source is Rumanian.[65] It is probable, however, that he looked in the wrong direction: the influence at work here is much more likely to be Saxon.

Hétfalu borders on Kronstadt (Brassó), the one-time seat of the Saxon Lutheran Church and the fountainhead of the Saxon Reformation. Administratively the Hétfalu region

[63]One who uses magic to change the weather.

[64]The term szépasszonyok appears already in some Hungarian witch trials, as Ipolyi notes. Magyar Mythologia, II, 16-18.

[65]Orbán, VI, 413.

was in fact Saxon, not Hungarian. Many of the Székelys here are still Lutherans (and are not considered Székelys by the villages to the north, "merely" Magyars): their church was formerly part of the Saxon Church and was supplied with Saxon pastors.[66] And it is not insignificant that this is the place where Orbán recorded a witch legend, for the Saxon Church, through its infamous witch trials, was unquestionably the cause of a widespread preoccupation with witches among the Saxon and the Saxon-administered Székely populace.

There has not been sufficient research into the history of Saxon witch trials and the writer is unable to give statistical evidence about them. But their horrible impact on the entire Saxon nation is expressed clearly and eloquently by the following quotation from Friedrich Müller. Writing of the Sachsenland, he states:

> Es giebt kaum einen Ort, wo es nicht abkömmlinge früher als Hexen gerichteter Personen gäbe, die noch heute nicht ohne Misstrauen angesehen werden. Das Volk fürchtet und flieht sie. Es giebt Häuser, in denen die nächtlichen Durchzüge und Versammlungen der Hexen stattfinden sollen: ihre Bewohner

[66] Orbán himself recounts that Kronstadt was forcibly Germanizing these villages. Tradition has it in Ujfalu, one of the seven in the Hétfalu complex, that Hungarian was forbidden to be spoken in public and the people had to hear their sermons in German until late in the 18th century, when they finally rebelled against a Rev. Lukas Riemer, and threatened to go over to the Calvinists. Afterwards Kronstadt supplied Hungarian-speaking pastors. There were later attempts to Germanize these villages, but they, too, met with failure. Orbán, VI, 413.

> verlassen sie und sie stehen leer und gemieden; ja es giebt ganze Dörfer, deren fleissige Einwohner in dem Geruch der Zauberei . . . stehen. Aber die gerichtliche Autorität stützt diesen Glauben nirgends mehr und die sächsischen Weiber können in Sicherheit alt werden.[67]

The implication of these lines is especially gruesome because they were written at least a century after the last Saxon woman was burned at the stake.

Available evidence seems to indicate that the Székelys did not catch the witch fever that spread throughout Europe, including the rest of Hungary.[68] Just why they escaped it we cannot answer with certainty, but in any case

[67]Friedrich Müller, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hexenglaubens und des Hexenprozesses in Siebenbürgen (Braunschweig, 1854), p. 50. In this work he mentions 47 trials, but does not claim to be complete.

[68]There are, to date, two compilations of Hungarian witch trial documents: Andor Komáromy, Magyarországi boszorkányperek oklevéltára (Archive of the Witch Trials of Hungary; Budapest, 1910) and Ferenc Schramm, Magyarországi boszorkányperek, 1529-1768 (Witch Trials of Hungary; Budapest, 1970). These list a total of 927 records of witch trials in all of Greater Hungary, including the 47 mentioned by Müller, whom Komáromy uses as a source. The final word has not been said on the subject, however.

Making a tally for the Székelyföld alone is difficult, because the records are fragmented and because it is not always possible to determine whether the parties involved were from Székely villages. As nearly as the writer has been able to count, these works list forty-two cases in the Székelyföld, excluding the Saxon-dominated Brassó (Kronstadt) area. Of these, however, 20 are from Maros, 19 from Aranyos Seat, both peripheral regions of the Székelyföld, with mixed populations. Only five of these resulted in a death sentence.

For the purest Székely areas we have little evidence: two fragments from Udvarhely (one from Bözöd, a pseudo-Jewish area) but no sentences, and one suit for slander in Csik, where a woman took her entire village to court for calling her a witch (the outcome is not known). We have no record of a witch trial in Háromszék.

there is a clear correspondence between witch legends and witch trials: the richness of the Saxon legends is matched by a large number of trials, while the absence of Székely trials is paralleled by an absence of legends. And this brings us to ponder an interesting question: which came first, the legends or the trials? Is it that we have no witch legends among the Székelys in the 19th century because we had no witch trials earlier, or could it be, conversely, that these people never shared the Saxon belief in witches and therefore had no witch trials, because their lack of belief made them unreceptive toward the whole idea? Could it be that, when the panic came, the Saxons were more susceptible to it because they had a witch tradition already, while the Székelys, with no similar tradition, only accepted the witch theories in the abstract, because the world around them, including the most respected authorities of the times, made such acceptance mandatory?

More research is needed before a definite answer can be given to this question. It has, to the writer's knowledge, not been raised before, in part because Hungarian scholars have never quite given the Székely subculture the separate attention it would seem to deserve. But, in a much broader sense, we may have here a bit of proof that the belief in witches was not universal, as many would have it (those who, like some of the inquisitors of old, equate seers, mediums and even old peasant women who cured with

herbs and chants with witches), but rather peculiarly Germanic in its origins. It may yet turn out that the common denominator for the European witch craze is neither the Inquisition nor the Reformation, but the presence of a Germanic stock of people to whom witches were a reality long before the Church systematized them into the dogma of a Satanic plot.

There can be little doubt that the Saxon belief in witches did not originate in the era of the Reformation. Müller, who had a lifelong interest in the matter and who made a comparison of Saxon witch motifs with their counterparts in Germany a part of his philological work, already makes a good case for an older etiology in his Beiträge. Summing up an examination of common motifs, he writes:

> Wozu indes so weit hergeholte Beweise für das Dasein eines Glaubens, der sich bei jedem Volke findet, für dessen Innerleben in früheren Zeiten die historischen Zeugnisse reichlicher fliessen, als in Siebenbürgen? Man müsste ihn hier schon nach dem Grundsatz der Analogie annehmen, riefen auch nicht zahlreiche Stellen in den sächsischen Hexenprozessen des XVII. Jahrhunderts . . . auf Zeiten zurück, die nicht nur über das XV. Jahrhundert hinausgehen, sondern auf Lebens- und Glaubenszustände deuten, in denen die Vorfahren der deutschen Colonisten in Siebenbürgen noch räumlich vereint mit den Stämmen des Mutterlandes heidnische Götter verehrten. Der Glaube an Hexen und Zauberer ist unsern Vorfahren nicht erst vermittelt durch Inquisition oder Reformation zugekommen, er ging ohne Zweifel mit ihnen vom Rhein und der Donau an den Olt und die Kukel. Nur die Ausbeute dieses Glaubens für den Hexenprozess fällt bei uns an die Scheide des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts.[69]

[69]Müller, Beiträge, p. 15.

On the basis of the evidence we have, we must agree. The only other explanation for the belief in witches in the Sachsenland and, in particular, for its close correspondence with the same phenomenon in the West, especially Germany, could lie in the possibility of long-range importation sometime about the 15th or 16th century. But while this possibility must be granted (and it is certainly true as far as the Saxon clerics were concerned officially), it seems unlikely: connections with the West were hardly strong enough to have suddenly produced such a widespread and evidently deep-seated belief in the masses of the Saxon populace. People-to-people contact on a large scale could, of course, easily furnish an explanation for the spread of such beliefs, but if, as it seems, neither the Székelys nor the Rumanians, the two closest neighbors, were its carriers (the Rumanian vrăjitoare does not appear to have the samme connotation as Hexe[70] and no Rumanian was ever tried as a witch[71]), we are left with Müller's hypothesis as the best one, namely, that the witch was brought to Transylvania in the rucksacks of the German settlers themselves, sometime during the first two centuries of our millenium.

We are still left with an interesting question: if

[70]Cf. Hungarian varázsló--magician.

[71]Müller, Beiträge, p. 52.

the foregoing conclusions about Székelys and Saxons have any merit whatever, why did the former remain relatively immune to the witch sickness, when their Hungarian brethren to the north and west of them did not? The Székelys, after all, were and are members of a larger linguistic-ethnic-cultural community with the magyars. How could they have remained aloof, when the Hungarians did not?

A partial answer may lie in the character of the tündér. Ipolyi already notes that in many instances it is hard to differentiate between tündér and boszorkány.[72] We, too, have seen that the tündér often resembles the witch (e.g. in 045, 046, 048 and 050). Even though in the majority of our legends she is placed in a mythical past, she also appears in the "present"--and there is nothing to prevent us from postulating that a superstitious, synchronic belief in tündérek was even stronger among the Székelys centuries earlier, long before the witch trials began. It could be that, since they had a superstitious character of their own that in many ways fulfilled similar functions in their beliefs and local legends, the Székelys had no need of the witch. (The Saxons, on the other hand, probably

[72]Ipolyi, op. cit., II, 168. Ipolyi speculates that the word boszorkány, whose etymology is unclear, may have come into Hungarian from Persian (possibly through Turkish), and refers to "storm-makers" accompanying the Turanian armies in Firdusi's Shah Nameh, called basur or buzurge. The root simply means "big" in modern Persian.

did not borrow the tündér for the reverse reason. Indeed, in some cases--e.g. M35-M39--witches are so similar to tündérek that, were it not for the element of fear, a substitution would be possible. One wonders whether or not there might be two different levels of witch beliefs hidden here: behind the witch-as-human possessing evil, supernatural power, there may be another layer of beliefs in a plainly supernatural creature, not necessarily evil.)

We are not, of course, speaking of the 19th century Hexe and tündér here, but of their remote ancestors of perhaps some seven or eight hundred years before. We know very little of what the popular conception of the witch may have been then, and we know even less about the tündér. At one time the two characters may have been closer to each other, close enough, at least, to prevent borrowing, yet distant enough to rule out identification or assimilation of the two into a common, Transylvanian character. In any case, the similarity is unquestionable. It is also a fact that, in spite of this, a Hexe--tündér translation never became possible. And it seems to be more than a coincidence that the two characters were apparently mutually exclusive: we have tündér legends on the one hand but essentially neither witches nor trials, witches and trials on the other, with a total absence of anything like the tündérek. By the time of Müller and Orbán, of course, the two characters had undergone different development: mytho-

logical or superstitious, the tündér became (or remained) a transcendent, immortal, positive figure, while flesh-and-blood Hexen had been slaughtered wholesale.

To sum up: we must consider the possibility that one reason the Székelys did not borrow the witch is that they had the tündér and that they remained immune to the witch sickness because they basically never believed in witches.

It would be going far afield to extend the question to all of Greater Hungary (including other parts of Transylvania) and to attempt to account for its converse, namely, why did the Magyar peasants elswhere adopt--or adapt--the witch? Did they really have an autochtonous boszorkány that was indistinguishable from the contemporary German Hexe? If we are to believe Hungarian folklorists from Ipolyi to date, that is so. What trial records, boszorkány legends and superstitions we have on hand are, indeed, only all too similar to the German equivalents.[73] But could not the entire boszorkány stock have been borrowed from the Germans, especially the many Germans living in Hungary proper, where they--unlike the Saxons--often mixed with the Magyar population?[74] Much would seem

[73]To be sure, Hungarian scholars usually take great pride in the fact that the degree of the madness was surprisingly mild in Hungary--when compared with the West.

[74]In Hungary, at least, there seems to be a connection between urbanization and witch trials, one that cannot be accounted for merely by the location of the competent courts

to speak for such a possibility and little to militate against it.

However that may be: the very question points to the inadequacies of the philological method when applied to the study of folklore. The hunt for variants, at least in connection with local legends, can lead to serious errors, not only because it often gives rise to sweeping generalizations on the basis of a few examples scattered in time and space, but especially because it brings with it a tendency to focus only on similarities. Yet the differences among peoples are often much more telling than the similarities, for similarities can always have been borrowed, dissimilarities never.

An examination of the Saxon witch legends reveals nothing new to one familiar with the witch phenomenon in Western Europe. Every one of the motifs contained in our twenty-six items may be found elsewhere in the extensive literature that has arisen around the subject of witchcraft. Nevertheless, let us try to derive a Saxon picture of the witch.

The first observation we can make is that the witch legend was generally told to elicit fear. In this it differs sharply from the legends we have labeled mythical, in which this kind of appeal to the emotions was totally

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in the cities. And the fact is that many, if not most, of Hungary's cities before the 19th century had populations that were predominantly German or at least of predominantly German ancestry.

absent, even in the few Székely tales about evil tündérek. Yet, though fear is ever present in the witch legends, we note that it is not always justified by the context. In five of our items (M35-M39), or roughly one fourth of the total, the witches do man a good deed when they are approached with respect or good will (even if the motivation itself is fear).

Indeed, the witches are depicted as a merry lot. In eight instances they dance and sing (M35-M39, M44, M45 and M48). Their music is not pleasing to good Christian ears, but they have their fun with it. Sometimes they make noise just to annoy people, more in mischief than out of malice (M34).

Nevertheless, they are predominantly evil creatures who will do man harm. Even here, however, it is often because they are abused first (M47, M49, M52, M53, M56) or disturbed (M48). They are vengeful and trite when they take offense--as are ordinary people.

The Saxon witch knew black magic, had superhuman capabilities and knowledge. She cast spells (M35-M39), had magic ointments (M40, M59), could fly (M39, M41, M59) or cause others to fly (M42, M43). She could bring on sickness (M49, M50, M53) and death (M52, M54, M55, M57, M59). She could take animal shapes: that of cats (M45, M47, M55), ants (M46), toads (M46, M52) or black hens (M53). She could make an animal her familiar or enter into it at a

distance (M51). She could keep things from growing (M44) or rob people of their crops (M46, M51). She appeared at times of war (M40, M55) and epidemics (M55, M57, M58). Sometimes she assaulted people directly, physically (M48), especially in her cat form (M47, M55).

What did the witches look like? When they are described, they are usually old and ugly (M40, M52, M54). Even those who come into contact with them are often old or physically deformed (M43, M49, the tree in M44). The unaesthetic is often equated with evil . . ..

The witch can be hurt either in her human or in her animal form, and will always show the hurt in her human shape (M51-M53, M55, M56). Unlike the tündér, she is mortal. But in this connection we note the curious legends M57 and M58, in which the Hexe continues to do harm after her death, until a stake is driven through her corpse. In these we seem to have a blending of the witch legend with the vampire legend. Neither fits the normal Saxon pattern, and one of them, at least, is definitely Rumanian in its source (M58), though Müller probably heard it from a Saxon. The other, M57, is from Mühlbach, an area that in the 19th century already had a heavy concentration of Rumanians.

The witches bear a mark of some sort upon their bodies (M48, M55), but we are not told how these were implanted in them. Indeed, the pact with the Devil, the oath taking and other ritual rites are not mentioned at all,

except in M59, which we have good reason to think is not a true local legend. Nor do we learn much about the witches' organization, so important in the trials, though we note that they often operate in packs and that they are sometimes under the leadership of male Hexenmeister (M45, M48).

A brief mention of two important 20th century theories in connection with witches and witchcraft must be made here: those of Montague Summers and Margaret A. Murray.[75] Summers, a Catholic scholar-cleric, representing the classical Catholic view, takes his Satanology or demonology quite literally, while Murray, an anthropologist, believes the witch phenomenon to have been the remainder of an ancient, autochtonous, pre-Christian, European religion. Though the two theories (both of which are based chiefly on records of French and British trials) are in many ways opposed to each other, they essentially agree in one point: they both state, in so many words, that the witches represented a real, organized plot of some sort, which the Church, or rather the organized society of the times, felt obliged to crush by force. And whereas in other details few scholars would today take either Summers or Murray seriously, the influence of their respective plot theories persists in many quarters.[76]

[75]Montague Summers, The History of Witchcraft and Demonology (1st ed. 1926; 2nd. ed. New Hyde Park, N.Y., 1956). Margaret Alice Murray, The Witch-Cult in Western Europe (Oxford, 1921).

[76]See for example T. C. Lethbridge, Witches, Investi-

Whatever merit these theories may have, there is nothing in the Saxon legends we have examined to lend support to the idea of an organized "religion" or conspiracy behind the phenomenon of the witch. The Saxon inquisitors, as inquisitors elsewhere, may indeed have thought in terms of a Satanic plot: but the people, the Saxon peasants, had little recollection of such things in the 19th century. Yet it is unlikely that they would have forgotten just this, the essential part of the trials, when they remembered so many other things about the witch and her craft.

It is instructive to see what a contemporary German scholar has to say in connection with the popular belief in witches today:

> Der Hexenglaube ist heute in unseren Dörfern noch ganz allgemein, allerdings mit Abstufungen und in starken Wandlungen: Die in den Sagensammlungen des 19. Jhs. noch so häufig bezeugten Wind- oder Wetterhexen, die Wirbelsturm und Gewitter verursachten, sind ebenso wie der Glaube an die Brockenfahrt der Hexen in der Volkssage fast ganz verschwunden. Ketzerei, Teufelspakt und Teufelsbuhlerschaft der spätmittelalterlichen Hexenvorstellungen spielen im Volksglauben heute gar keine Rolle mehr.[77]

The Müller collection shows that in the case of the

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gating an Ancient Religion (London, 1962). From quite another quarter, the American John Birch Society has recently--and in all seriousness--reopened the question of an organized witchdom, alleged to be part of a larger plot aimed at destroying American society. This in wake of the Tate murders and the trial of Charles Manson and company. (That Manson and his "coven of freaks" were acting in imitation of the one-time witches of Europe is an easy conclusion to draw.) David Emerson Gumaer, "Satanism--A Practical Guide to Witch Hunting," American Opinion, XIII, (Sept., 1970), 41-72.

[77] Röhrich, op. cit., p. 16.

Transylvanian Saxons, the latter "spätmittelalterliche Hexenvorstellungen" no longer played a role by the mid 1800's. But did they ever? Were the "Ketzerei, Teufelspakt und Teufelsbuhlerschaft," the entire complex demonic plot ever a part of the Saxon--or German--witch tradition, or were these suspiciously theological elements injected into the tradition from above, through the Inquisition and the Reformation?[78]

The history of the witch purges and their interrelationship with folklore needs to be explored further. In spite of the scholarly effort that has gone into the problem, we do not yet understand fully what happened three or four centuries ago to produce such mass hysteria in the western world. We must find out; it is our own souls we are searching thereby. For the illness is endemic in the human race: though latent, perhaps, it is yet with us in its many "variants."

The folklorist would do well to remember that he is

[78] H. R. Trevor-Roper, who traces the origins of the witch belief to the Alpine regions, makes a strong case for such injection from above and speaks of an "organized, systematic 'demonology' which the medieval Church constructed" out of "a scattered folk-lore of superstitions." Our facts seem to lend him support. Yet even he dismisses the "miscellaneous witch-beliefs" all too lightly. "Such beliefs are universal in time and place," he writes, and . . . I am not concerned with them." See his essay, "The European Witch-Craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in the book bearing the same title (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), rpt. of chapters 1-4 of The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (New York, 1968), pp. 90-192.

dealing not with abstractions, a world of fancy, but with reflections of the barest, rawest human reality. Sometimes the material itself provides him with a brutal reminder:

M60

In the "new field" near SCHWEISCHER there is a place called "det reg, diu'm de riut Trëny, de Trud, verbrait hot" (the hill where they burned the redhead Katherine, the Witch; 213).

B. Sorcerer Legends

This subdivision is an arbitrary one: most of the legends that follow could as well have been classified under another heading, especially the foregoing, from which they differ chiefly in that the superstitious character in question is not female. Let us again present the Saxon items first:

M61

It rained so much in the summer of 1851 because the Wetterführer was buried in a mudslide on the Keliman (Kelemen Mountain) near SACHSISCH REGEN. Previously he had driven the rain into the mountains several times. It had to rain until he was washed clear. This happened during the hard rains between August 31 and September 2 (82).

M62

A long time ago there lived a farmer in WERMESCH who used to ward off storms by facing them with an ax.

One time he again faced a bad storm and threw his ax into the clouds. The storm passed without causing any damage, but the ax did not fall back to earth. Many years later he was traveling in the Mezőség (area north of the Székelyföld), and stopped off at the house of a Rumanian. Here he saw his ax. His host was namely a much more powerful Wetterführer than the man from Wermesch and had attracted the latter's tool (85).

M63

An elegant gentleman was once traveling to SCHASSBURG. It was hot, and he wanted something to drink. He noticed a flock of sheep near the Stinne (dairy) and told his driver to fetch him a drink of milk. "Oh, that's easy," the coachman replied, pulled up, dismounted, and started to milk an axle. Suddenly the flock became restless, and the shepherd soon saw the reason. He took off his "bobo" (Rum. "sheepskin coat"), hung it on the gate-post and began to beat it with a cudgel. At once the coachman screamed for mercy, promising never to milk an axle again. The shepherd stopped and the coachman drove away, black and blue from the beating (198).

M64

A burgher of SCHASSBURG was traveling once and had to spend the night on the road. He was afraid to unhitch his horses, fearing they would be stolen. But his servant said to him: "Master, go ahead and unhitch them; no-one

will steal a horse from you." "The hell they won't," growled the burgher, but let himself be persuaded.

In the morning the horses were gone, and he flew at his servant in a rage. But the latter calmly shook the feed bags and lo, the horses appeared shortly, bathed in thick sweat, showing they had run far and hard. The servant already had an evil reputation and many believed to his end, not long ago, that he was a sorcerer (177).

M65

Ghosts haunt the Johannisberg at SCHWEISCHER between eleven and midnight. When travelers come by there to spend the night, a black colt runs before them or behind them, and no-one can ever catch it. It has only been seen by the people of Schweischer, but it is widely reported among them (76).

M66

Near WERMESCH there is a marsh that seldom dries up. One night a farmer was walking by it, tired, on the way home from Bistritz. There he noticed a beautiful steed, saddled and bridled, circling the marsh. "I wish you had appeared near the city," the farmer sighed, "so I could have spared my weary bones." Hardly had he said this when the horse came up to him, prancing joyfully, as if offering to take him the rest of the way. The farmer mounted it. But at once he blacked out and felt only that the beast took to the air with him. Sometimes he thought his feet scraped the

treetops. He came to in broad daylight, near Rothkirch, in the area of the Hundred Hills (177; from Baierdorf).

M67

In SCHÄSSBURG there lived not long ago a comb-maker nemed Schneider, who hailed from Sächsisch Regen. Once he was taking some flour home from the mill. Since the Mühlgasse was too muddy, he made a detour on the small path under the monastery. Suddenly he was seized by something invisible, whisked through the air and set down at the end of the upper Beiergasse. This was at dawn. People going to work saw him there with his sack and asked where he had been. "At the city mill," he answered, and they laughed at him. But then others came from the mill and confirmed that he had indeed been there a little while before (197).

M68

Until the year 1812, a pair of Turkish leg-irons were kept in a chamber of the fort at REPS. They had belonged to the Roter Königsrichter (so called because of his red hair).

When Transylvania first became a Turkish protectorate, the people of the region could not pay their taxes to the Porte. The Königsrichter was therefore summoned to Istanbul. He went in the company of his servant, Menenges, a well-known Hexenmeister and sorcerer. In Istanbul he was

sentenced to death, but Menenges saved him: the two of them sat upon the judge's cloak one day before midnight, flew out the keyhole and landed, at four in the morning, on the Steinerne Höhe, a mountain near Reps. They would have made it to Reps itself, but the Königsrichter broke silence against Menenges' instructions, because he lost his hat. "Master, we have already left it far behind us," Menenges replied, but he now had to land. On the Steinerne Höhe they saw two horses, tended by a girl. They mounted and rode into the city, but when they arrived, the horses turned into cats.

For his efforts, Menenges received a golden chalice. With that he went up one night on the Steinerne Höhe to attend a witches' sabbat. A farmer, taking his meal home from the mill, lost his way and came upon them there. Menenges made him drink from the goblet. The farmer made so many toasts, however, that the clock struck and everyone disappeared, leaving the goblet in his hand.

The Königsrichter hung the leg-irons in the fort as a memento. But he told no-one about the flight home, saying instead that he had been freed by merchants who took pity on him and paid his ransom (171).[79]

[79]Also in Lucas Joseph Marienburg, Geographie des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen (Hermannstadt, 1813), II, 293, and in Unterhaltungsblatt für Geist, Gemüt und Vaterlandskunde, 1837, p. 209.

M69

A man from PETERSDORF once sold a team of oxen in Bistritz for 200 forints. Upon returning home, drunk, he hid the money in a hole in the wall. The next morning he could not find it: he had forgotten what he had done with it. Convinced that the money had been stolen, he went to an old Rumanian who knew how to cast spells, and asked him to take up the "black fast" against the one who had the money. But of course it was our man who fell ill and wasted away. In the end he found the money, but by then it was too late: the black fast had had its effect, and he died soon thereafter (181).

M70

A wicked old man, whom the villagers considered a Trudengeiger, died in BULKESCH. He was hardly in his grave when people in the village began to die: the witches' fiddler was getting up between eleven and twelve at night to murder them. Finally the organist decided to stand watch in the church one night. At the stroke of eleven a coffin-lid sprang open, a white figure stepped out and walked to the locked church door. The door flew open and the figure went out through it. The organist then went downstairs, found the open coffin and vault and, after cutting off a piece of the shroud, closed both. He went back to the organ, prayed, lighted two candles and waited. Shortly before midnight the ghost came back. When he saw

the candles, he shouted at the organist to put them out so he could go back to sleep. But the organist prayed on. The ghost shouted again, saying that if he came upstairs, he would snuff out three candles, not two. But the organist prayed on. The ghost came nearer; he was approaching the stairs already when the organist suddenly started to play a hymn. The ghost kept approaching: he could not hear the clock strike twelve. Just as the last stroke was resounding, the organist stopped playing. The ghost turned into a pile of ashes and the villagers were never bothered again (73).

M71

"An die Sage von dem in zahlloser Teufelsbegleitung dahinreisended Faust erinnern sich die Leute nur dunkel. Vor und hinter ihm ist pechschwarze Nacht. Die Strasse wird vor seinem Wagen her von den dienenden Teufeln gepflastert" (169; from Bulkesch).

M72

A very old woman who died a few years ago in SACHSISCH REGEN told her grandchildren the following: the famous Dr. Faust, of whom remarkable things are told everywhere, was in Hermannstadt a long time ago. Her grandfather, who worked there as a journeyman, knew many stories about the things he did there. Thus, for example, as a cavalier, he bowled on the Ring with mighty stone balls, balls that changed into human skulls when he rolled them

and back into stones when they stopped. Another time he took on the shape of the Stadtpfarrer, paraded around on the church roof and stood on his head at the top of the tower, to everyone's horror. But when the real preacher came out, Faust jumped into the crowd. By the time he landed in the midst of the screaming, running mob, he had changed into a black cat with fiery eyes. And at a fair, at a cattle market, everyone suddenly heard drums and military music and saw, instead of the sheep, calves, oxen and horses, a regiment of soldiers march in. While the people stood gawking, Faust, the conductor, gave a sign, and of a sudden there were a thousand voices bleating, mooing and neighing: the "soldiers" had turned back into beasts.

As an architect, Faust often offered his services to the people of Hermannstadt, but they always knew at once with whom they were dealing and they never signed a contract. Once he wanted to talk them into tearing down the church and its tower, saying he would build them a much bigger and nicer one in seven weeks, if they would let him have the Ring, where the Catholic church now stands, to build his house on. He also wanted to change the course of the Mieresch (Maros) River so it would flow past Hermannstadt, provided they would let him build a mill on it, etc.

In the end, Faust went to hell. Jesus wanted to

save him, since he was basically a good man and had done much good for the poor, but he was so indebted to the Devil that, even with the best of will, no-one could free him from his clutches (168).

M73

Not long ago a child was born in BROOS that at once began to talk, asking for bread. The frightened parents sent for the pastor. He told them not to give him any, but to put fresh snow on its tongue. Hardly had they done thus, the child said: "Lucky for you that you gave me no bread, for otherwise there would have been seven years of famine in the land." Then he spoke no more and was like other children (71).

The above legends are of necessity not so neatly grouped as were the witch legends; they represent a much wider divergence in type.

The first two, M61 and M62, present us with the Wetterführer again. We note the close resemblance of M62 to the Székely 058, except that here there is no witch in the storm. The Wetterführer himself is, in all three accounts, a positive figure, simply a man who tries to ward off storms: he is, in this, an antagonist to the witch. He is, in fact, not a superstitious figure in the sense we have used the term, no more so than a diviner, although an aura of the mysterious surrounds him. Legend M61 may have been told tongue-in-cheek.

In M63 and M64 we have real witch motifs. The coachman milking the axle parallels M51: in the latter the witch "entered" the neighbor's cow, here the coachman enters an entire flock of sheep. Even the vicarious beating is the same, though with far less drastic results. We had no witch parallel to M64, unless we see a remote similarity with M56, in which the blacksmith's wife changed into a mare. Here the servant simply makes the horses disappear, though whether he "enters" them is not clear. Hard, fast rides in the dark of the night themselves are reminiscent of black magic.

There is also a certain similarity between these legends and the next two, M65 and M66, in which we see only horses, but not ordinary ones. Whether the first of these really belongs here is not certain: black animals appearing at night are, as we shall see, often synonymous with the Devil for the Saxons, although his animal shape does not seem to be that of a horse elsewhere. Legend M65, on the other hand, is clearly of the witch type, because of the flight through the air.

Flight is itself a separate motif that is not always expressly tied to a superstitious character--as in M67. But witchcraft is, in any case, implied. The mention of the monastery is of some significance here: after the Reformation there was a strong campaign against religious orders, and the monks were often associated with evil.

Legend M68 is obviously more literary than the rest--and we note its previous publication in two places. It seems to be a story that could be derived from a number of sources: the Königsrichter could be Faust, Menenges Mephistopheles; even the buffoon is there, in the person of the clever farmer who walks off with the golden chalice. Flying on a cloak--on a magic carpet--was made popular by the Arabian Nights, which saw several partial translations in both German and Hungarian about the time Müller was working in the field; the coupling of the story with the Orient is probably not accidental. The loss of the hat we also saw in the Rabsonné legend, 050.

We have a singular item in M69. Though we shall see that hidden money, treasure, is in itself often evil, this is the only mention of the "black fast." The writer has personally heard vague stories like this one in Transylvania: in every instance the person to whom such powers were ascribed was a Rumanian, usually a popa (orthodox priest). The explanation for it is obvious: the popas were, in the past, especially noted for driving out the Devil and evil spirits for a fee. It is a logical inference that if the popa can ban evil, he can also induce it. And such an inference was most likely to be made by the Székelys and the Saxons, to whom the Orthodox priesthood's practices were not intelligible and seemed more mysterious than they were in fact.

M70 is a ghost story, but it has been listed here because the wicked man is called a witches' fiddler. We have seen two similar instances, M57 and M58, in which the dead witch came back from the grave to kill the living; here we have a man in the same role. But whereas the former were mixed with the vampire motif, M70 is a cross between the witch legend and the stereotypical ghost story.

Neither M71 nor M72 is a true legend. Faust is not native to Transylvania; he came there between the covers of books. It is not surprising that the people remember him only faintly. In M72 we even have a clear explanation for the fanciful account: an old woman used to tell such things to entertain her grandchildren, drawing on various items in her memory and imagination. These legends have been included here only as items of passing curiosity, and to demonstrate, once again, the effect of literary feedback.

Legend M73 is singular. The talking child reminds one of the obscure figure of the Hungarian <u>táltos</u>, people born with particular powers, full sets of teeth, etc. In the nineteenth century already, the exact meaning of this term could no longer be determined: the consensus of opinion is that the <u>táltosok</u> were a pagan priesthood, into which one had to be born.[80] Whether M73 concerns this

[80]See Ipolyi, II, 206 et seq. Recent attempts to equate the <u>táltos</u> with present-day shamans in Siberia are very unconvincing. They are based on the assumption that a

figure, or rather a remnant of a belief associated with it, we cannot tell. There is no other item like it in either Müller's or Orbán's collection.

Turning now to the Székely legends, we have, as could be expected, nearly nothing to list here:

059

A place near KARÁCSONFALVA is called Szászölőhely (Place of the Saxon Killing).

A man named Márton Tamásó once had an honest Saxon servant. One day the latter found a buried treasure. Instead of keeping it for himself, he led his master to it. Tamásó thereupon murdered him and took all the money.

He was now rich, but his conscience would not let him rest. He told of his crime to his confessor, and was ordered to atone for it by donating land for the building of a church, and by making a pilgrimage to Rome.

Tamásó obeyed. He spent seven years in Rome. Then one day a monk came to him and said, "Márton Tamásó, your wife is remarrying tomorrow. Would you like to be there?"

"Impossible!" Tamásó replied.

"Promise you'll build three chapels and I'll take you home during the night."

Tamásó promised. In the morning he woke up on the mountain Kövesbérc, near Karácsonfalva.

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several thousand year old--and still very much disputed--linguistic connection also implies a similarity in folklore. Cf. Vilmos Diószegi, Tracing Shamans in Siberia (Oosterhout, 1968).

The wedding was not held. Man and wife made peace with each other, and lived happily ever after. And Tamásó kept his promise: he built the three chapels (I, 184).

060

Near SZÉPVIZ there is a mountain, the Pogányhavas (Pagan Mountain), so called because the Székely ancestors, persecuted by the Christians, used to worship their god on its peak.

On the mountain there is a chapel, said to have been built by Szent István (St. Stephen of Hungary), who defeated a band of Cuman marauders nearby. It was on this spot that he gave thanks to God. After praying, he hopped on his <u>táltos</u> horse[81] and flew off the cliff; one can still see the hoofprints of his horse on the rock below. Then he watered his mount in the clear mountain creek, and exclaimed "Mily szép viz!" (What lovely water!). The village that grew up around the creek derives its name from his exclamation (II, 75).

It is almost certain that 059 is not a local legend: it is too complex, too literary, and too Catholic (the murderer atones for his sin by making a pilgrimage to Rome and by donating land and money to the Church). What is interesting in any case is the fact that the witchcraft is

[81] <u>Táltos</u> is an adjective here, used before a noun. As such it appears in the Hungarian fairy tale chiefly in connection with horses--horses that talk, fly, etc.

attributed to a monk--but without a hint as to whether this is black or white magic. It is almost as if Tamásó had been rewarded by God for his remorse and atonement, and as if no evil forces were involved.

Number 060 is more likely to be a local legend, but it is a mixed one. In part it is a miracle legend about the warrior-saint-king, István I. But it also contains a mention of the táltos horse that is a standard character of the Hungarian mese (Märchen).

We have seen no other instances of humans flying through the air in the Székely legends. Neither of the above is, however, of the witch type seen in the Saxon corpus. We have seen one other Székely magic horse, the fire-spewing stallion that guards the treasure of Besenyő (025). But neither of these horses resembles the Saxon ones (in M56, M64, M65 and M66), for they lack the evil connotation of the latter.

What we have seen in this group has been a very mixed set of legends, some of which are hardly calssifiable within the framework of this study. The only conclusion we can reach is that, in spite of an occasional mention of Hexenmeister, the Saxons had no real male equivalent to the witch. And this would seem to support that which has been postulated above, namely, that witches were an ancient and autochtonous superstitious figure among the Saxons, but that all other appurtenances necessary for the

plot theories of the Reformation era were not. In spite of a scattering of sorcerers, it remains that witchcraft was chiefly an attribute of women in the Sachsenland--as elsewhere. And the Székelys, for their part, believed in sorcerers no more than in witches.

C. Ghost Legends

Witches and sorcerers are superstitious characters, but they are only supernatural in part. Though they have powers ordinary men do not have, they are nevertheless of the human world: they are mortal. Once they die, they cease to be: presumably their souls go to hell, though this is seldom made explicit in our legends. We have no legend with a setting in the underworld.

But we have seen instances in which the underworld, the world of the dead, acts in and on the world of the living. In M57 and M58, not-quite-dead witches came back from the grave to take their revenge, in M70 an evil Trudengeiger. Let us see what other visitors from beyond the Saxons had:

M74

Under the stone bridge in SACHSISCH REGEN there is a house that could not be lived in for a long time because it was haunted. People examined it and found nothing amiss in it, save that every morning there was a pile of large stones in the fireplace. The stones could be heard falling, but no-one could see anything. Finally the owner

of the house, a Rumanian, had the ghost driven out by the popa. On seven consecutive Fridays the latter fasted and prayed at crossroads--and since that time no more stones have fallen from the chimney and the house is habitable again (67).

M75

In the farmyard of a man in MÜHLBACH there was often a mysterious going-on that no-one could explain. Sometimes a heavy wagon would move by itself, sometimes empty wine barrels would roll hither and yon. Finally an ox stepped into a hole in the yard and broke its leg. The farmer then dug down on that spot and soon found a huge skeleton. He remembered reading among his family papers that his grandfather had once killed a Kurutze (Hung. kuruc, a rebel against the Habsburgs) and secretly buried him here. The farmer had the bones taken to the graveyard and the haunting ceased (72).

M76

At MÜHLBACH a man heard a tapping on his bedroom wall. He broke it open and found a pot full of silver (122).

M77

In a house of MÜHLBACH, things were "nicht geheuer." Its owner suspected a buried treasure. He called a diviner and they dug where the latter's rod indicated. They found an old stove with a black hen in it, sitting on eggs.

In his anger, the owner of the house threw the whole lot out into the street, where it disappeared. He acted in haste: the eggs would later have turned into gold (68).

M78

A grandmother in SÄCHSISCH REGEN reported that "die Frau mit der weissen Schopphaube" had been seen near the Catholic brewery; further, that "der schwarze Peter" had appeared at the Burieg and that children had been dancing in the lime pits. All of these, she said, were guarding rich treasures (130).

M79

An old man of MÜHLBACH was once sleeping in the hayloft and woke up at midnight to see a maiden in white standing before him, holding a kerchief in her extended hand. As long as he stared at the apparition, it did not move; but when he blinked, it disappeared. Had he grabbed the kerchief, the white maiden would have led him to treasure (49).

M80

The wife of an innkeeper in MÜHLBACH went out into the stall one night and saw a maiden in white standing there, pointing at the ground. The woman looked down and saw a pile of gold pieces glittering in the dirt. She picked them into her apron, but they turned into pebbles. Angry, she dumped her load, yet the stones jingled like gold. Then both gold and apparition

vanished (49).

M81

In MÜHLBACH's Rosengasse there is an old house that belonged to the bell-founder Wolf "some seventy or eighty years ago." Wolf once saw a flame in his cellar and thought there must be a buried treasure there. He asked a wise man about it and was told that, indeed, there was a rich treasure buried there, belonging to a white Jungfrau and her two daughters. They are under a spell. A black rooster is sitting on the treasure, and whoever can solve this riddle will free the Jungfrau and inherit the wealth. Wolf tried everything, even killed a black rooster and poured its blood over the spot, but could not solve the mystery. The treasure is still there (49).

M82

Near AGNETHELN there is a lake in the woods, called Schatzweiher. People fear to go near it. A man murdered his wife there once, and a poor woman froze to death on its banks not long ago. "I can't help it, they are calling me, I must go," she told those who wanted to hold her back. A bewitched princess is said to dwell in the lake, with all her treasure. The place will remain evil until the princess is saved and the treasure lifted (92).

M83

A white woman haunts the yard of the parsonage in

MESCHEN. Whenever she appears, she brings misfortune to someone (48).

M84

People in AGNETHELN also speak of a similar woman in white (48).

M85

A white woman has frequently been seen in HERMANNSTADT, in the Straussenburger house, behind the cemetery (48).

M86

Before the great plague of 1709 broke out in SCHASSBURG, people said it would hit the town "won de nåktig mêd kit" (when the naked maiden comes). And when the plague struck, people really claimed to have seen her (58).

M87

In 1849, after the Hungarian "rebellion" had destroyed the countryside, many corpses lay unburied throughout the land, left to vultures and dogs. Then the Pest (cholera) broke out. In GEORGSDORF, too, not far from Mühlbach, several people had already died of it, when one morning the farmers found a shirt at the edge of the village. In accordance with ancient custom, they buried it. The plague immediately left the region (59).

M88

When the cholera was decimating GALT in 1848, the

people of the village hung a shirt on a fence. The shirt disappeared and so did the epidemic; the cholera had accepted the shirt. In the Grossschenk district they say such a shirt must be spun, woven, sewn and washed in one night (60).

M89

A cabinet maker of MÜHLBACH had difficulty in keeping apprentices. The boys slept in his shop, and the one who slept closest to the door always complained that someone took the cover from him at night. Every morning he would find the cover behind the door. Finally one of the boys decided to get to the bottom of it all. He pretended to sleep one night. Shortly before midnight an old man with a grey beard appeared from behind the door, walked over to the bed and seized the blanket. The apprentice did not want to let it go but the ghost yanked it from him, wrapped himself in it and, walking back behind the door, sank out of sight. The blanket remained there, on the floor. The boy recovered it and fell asleep again after he had overcome his fright--but in the morning he found the cover behind the door once more. No-one could explain this phenomenon, and the cabinet maker had to content himself with letting his apprentices sleep elsewhere (79).

M90

A baker in MÜHLBACH had a maid once whom he would

send out to get him beer from an inn on the other side of the cemetery. One night, as she was coming back, she saw a figure dressed in white, sitting on a mound. She thought it was her lover, the baker's apprentice, trying to frighten her. She grabbed at his shirt, tore it off and ran home with it--but the baker-boy was just putting bread in the oven and she realized it could not have been he. That night she heard a voice under her window: "Give back my shirt!" She threw it out but it flew back in her face, and the voice said: "I have to go now; I'll expect you tomorrow at the same place where we met. Since you took the shirt from me, you have to put it on me again." She told her lover about it and the two of them went to the cemetery the next night. The figure was there, waiting for them. She threw the shirt at him, but he said, "You have to put it on me." She pulled it over his head. "The arms, too," the ghost said. She put it over one of his arms. "Now the other one," he said. Hardly had she complied when the ghost embraced her and sank out of sight with her (78).

M91

A preacher on a white horse rides around the cemetery three times each midnight at SÄCHSISCH REGEN, a Bible in his hands. They say he preaches to the dead. When he finishes, there is a loud noise and the apparition disappears: the preacher goes back to sleep in his vault and his mount vanishes (64).

M92

A long time ago people dug a large kettle out of the mountain at ZEID. The old bell of the church was cast from its metal. In the last (18th) century the hole from which it had been taken was still open. But when the famous judge, Samuel Herbert of Kronstadt died, the Devil dug up his corpse and whisked him into this pit. Whenever there is a storm, people still hear the judge there, making an awful racket (154).

M93

At RADELN there is supposed to have been a fort once. Each year at Christmas bells are heard ringing there after midnight, and a voice calling "zu Hilfe." People think it is a ghost (117).

M94

In the Kruinerberg at HETZELDORF there is a huge treasure. Especially valuable are two golden plows hitched to four golden oxen. The entrance to the mountain is hard to find but it is open every 100th year, and whoever passes by it then can become rich for life.

Once a cooper passed by there and was hailed by a man-like figure. "Come, lend me a hand," it said, "I have work to do; you shall receive whatever you ask in return." The cooper agreed and they went to work. When they were finished, the figure took him to the mountain and told him to take as much gold as he wanted. He took a few hatsful, thanked the figure and went on his way.

Another time a Rumanian woman, picking tinder in the woods nearby, saw it open. She went in and set her baby down. She took three turns taking gold out; but after the third time the door slammed shut behind her, trapping her baby. He came out 100 years later, having aged but one year (144).

M95

A poor man of ROD was once ordered by his master to deliver an impossible number of wooden stakes to his vineyards. Sadly he went over to the Held (a mountain) and passed by the "Fallthor" [ruins?], when suddenly he found himself face to face with a tall, white figure in long robes, wearing a three-cornered hat. The ghost asked the man why he was so sad and, after the latter had explained, led him deep into the woods, where he showed him an immense treasure. The poor man took as much as he could carry, returned to Rod and became the richest man in the village. The same ghost also helped many other people, but after the "Fallthor" was torn down he was never again seen by anyone (35).

M96

In MÜHLBACH a poor woman once dreamt that an old man took her by the hand, led her out onto the city wall near the bastion, handed her a pickax and told her to dig. She did so, but found the going too hard; whereupon the old man told her never to mind, he would help her in another

fashion. He handed her a slip of paper with five numbers on it in red, then disappeared. The woman awoke and immediately wrote all the numbers down. She wanted to enter them in the lottery; but her husband, who did not believe in dreams, would not let her. Of course, all five were winning numbers, and the man went almost mad--but it was too late. Later the bastion was sold to a man for building stone. He found a rich treasure in it. But it did him little good--he died in poverty anyway (220).

M97

On the Kuppe, a mountain at SCHWEISCHER, people see a store ("Kaufladen") from time to time, but no-one has been closer than a hundred paces to it. The mountain opens on the southern side and reveals the store. A strong, gray-haired man in white, with a long, snowy-white beard stands in the doorway. After a few minutes the opening closes again and no-one can tell where it had been (147).

M98

Under the ruins of the fort at SASSTSCHOR there is a cellar. Twelve men with golden beards sit inside it, around a golden table, as if asleep. There is a hidden stairway leading down to the vault. A monk went down there once with a torch but never returned. No-one knows for certain who these men are; they are thought to be the original owners of the fort (44). But some claim that a fabulous treasure

is hidden there, the treasure of King Darius, who buried it when he was running from the Scythians. Only six burghers of Hermannstadt knew the precise location of the entrance, and they used to haul a wagonful of gold from there every year. After the death of the last of them, the story was revealed in his testament: On the western side of the fort there is a hidden, iron door with a trap containing a thousand blades behind it. Beyond the trap there is a second door, guarded by two silver lions. King Darius himself is behind that door, in a large hall, surrounded by twelve kings whom he conquered. Darius is of gold, the others of silver. In a second hall sits Darius' queen with her ladies-in-waiting, all of pure silver. Finally, there is a vault containing barrels full of gold in two rows of a dozen each.

A century ago a Rumanian hermit still lived in the fort; he was often seen with Darius coins on his person.

Three Swiss came there once with a map and dug, but found nothing (125).[82]

M99

Some people say that the treasure of King Darius is in the Sattelburg at SACHSISCH REGEN. Once a Rumanian woman found the door of the mountain open and went inside with her baby. An old man with a long beard was sitting

[82]Müller also cites Kővary here; the reference is discussed below.

there. She asked if she might take some gold. "Sure," he said, "take as much as you want." She set her child down on a crate of gold, filled her apron and took it outside. Then she went in again and asked permission to take more. "Go ahead," the old man said. But when she wanted to come in for the third time, the door slammed in her face. Crying, she went to the popa, who told her she would get her baby back if she prayed every day for a year. She did so, and a year later went back to the Sattelburg. The door was open, and there was her little boy, still sitting on the crate, playing with a golden apple. "Look ma, look!" he cried, and she was amazed that he could talk. "Who gave you the pretty apple?" she asked. "The bácsi (Hung. "uncle")," he replied. "He also fed me." The old man was nowhere to be seen. The mother took her child and went out; the door slammed shut behind her (126; orally, from J. Haltrich).

M100

At KAISD there is a rich treasure and the equipment of an entire Turkish field army buried in the Hüllenberg. During spring storms people often hear a jingling and rattling there, underground. They say that the treasure is being guarded by a Berggeist and that the jingling is caused by his counting money.

Once a group of five men went out to dig for the treasure and hit upon a metal trunk. Three of the men were

in the pit digging, two standing on top. One of the latter was wearing a red cap. As they were about to lift the trunk, a huge, white figure suddenly ran toward them, holding a gallows before him. "To the gallows with the man in the red cap!" it roared, and all the treasure-hunters ran for their lives. A sudden wind came up and it thundered, the trees were bent nearly to the ground; the trunk crashed back into the hole and the ghost sank in after it. Then all was still again.

The hole is still there, but everyone avoids it by night (155; orally, from Schullehrer Bodendorfer).

M101

A man by the name of Georg Hanek, of BAIERDORF, was not long ago visited by a ghost. It looked like a greyhound and had eyes that glowed like embers. It stormed around in the vestibule of his house, upsetting trunks and crates. Hanek, who was a powerful man, went out to drive it away, but was seized by it and flung through the air to the end of the village. The judge and the jurors, who had gone looking for him, found him there the next morning in a ditch at the crossroads (77).

M102

A hill near GROSSSCHENK is called the Bednerberg. It has an evil reputation among the people, and no woman would dare go there alone.

The "Pfarr vom Bednerberg" dwells there, a ghost that likes to play tricks on the vintagers who work on the slopes. He tosses about the straw they use to tie on the vines and steals the women's clothes. When wagons get stuck on the hillside, people know the Preacher of the Bednerberg cannot be far away.

The "Pfarr" was one of the mighty lords (officials) of Grossschenk, who appropriated the common meadows at the foot of the hill. He mistreated his workers so much they all cursed him; and when he died, his own son, a preacher, banished his soul to the Geisterwald, a dark woods near Héviz, where neither man nor beast dares roam.

This ghost appears to people in the garb of a preacher, in black coat and broad-brimmed hat; one of his feet is a duck's foot. The father of the oldest man in Grossschenk saw it clearly once.

Other ghosts are warded off through prayer, this one through curses. The preacher of Martinsberg found this out once. While driving home from the confirmation ceremonies in Grossschenk with several colleagues, his wagon bogged down at the foot of the Bednerberg. No amount of pushing and shoving would free it. "Lord, help us out of this mess," the good pastor said, but his driver replied "Father, let me handle this." Thereupon he cursed the ghost so vilely that the preachers feared for his soul. The wagon rolled free.

Today the vineyards on the Bednerberg show signs of bad neglect--and if the people of Grossschenk are asked the reason, they say it is because of the "Pfarr vom Bednerberg" (34).

M103

In the year 1826, a farmer of BISTRITZ, Michael Weber, dreamt that there was a treasure buried in the garden of the Franciscan monastery, guarded by a black priest. He told many people about it. Some encouraged him to go dig for it, others, including his wife, entreated him not to do so. He finally decided to try it and went out one night before Pentecost. He dug for two hours at the spot he had seen in his dreams--under a lilac bush--without success. He quit, thinking to continue after the holiday. On his way home, at midnight, he stopped to rest on the Saliterraig (Saltpeter Hill), the town's old hanging ground. He fell asleep. In his dream the black priest appeared to him again, and told him: "You have begun the work of my salvation; come now, and finish it!" In the morning, when he did not show up, his wife went looking for him and found him there, badly beaten and scratched up, unconscious. He never recovered. He spoke of nothing but the black priest after that and went raving mad. He died five years later, in 1831 (129).

M104

It happened "in the old days" once that a farmer of

NIEDER-EIDISCH went into the forest to fetch some wood. Once there he took out his pipe and lit it. But a woman dressed in white suddenly appeared and shouted angrily: "Who gave you permission to smoke in my woods? If you ever do it again, you'll be sorry!" She then took the pipe from him and threw it on the ground. The farmer, having recovered from his fright, picked up the pipe and went back to his house. By evening he had forgotten all about the white woman's injunction and lighted up again--and there, before him, stood the Waldfrau once more. She snatched his pipe and threw it out the window. The farmer never smoked again all his remaining days (50).

M105

In the deep woods around MÜHLBACH there roams a huge, wild man called the bäschjaeger (bush hunter) by the people. Mystery surrounds him and he is seldom seen by anyone. He lets hunters approach him on occasion, and then gives them good advice. He told a man who had shot 99 bears not to hunt the hundredth one, but the hunter paid no heed and the bear tore him to pieces. Another time he told someone that if he would put a snake in his gunbarrel on New Year's eve, he would not miss the whole year (39).

The simplest indication of ghosts is haunting; the poltergeist continues to survive all over the world as an

explanation for phenomena that cannot be accounted for in any other way by those experiencing them. Our first items in this group, M74-M76, are of this type, and there is little worthy of comment about them. In M74 we see another example of the power of the Rumanian popa and the magic effects of his fasting. Legend M75 illustrates the old belief that the soul of the departed finds no peace until his body is given a proper burial. The poltergeist in M76 leads a man to a hidden treasure, and we note that ghosts as indicators of treasure were popular among the Saxons (cf. M77, M78, M86, M95-M97 and M103).

The figure of the white woman--or woman in white--is more interesting. She, too, appears as a "pilot," or indicator of treasure, but she is an ambiguous character, both good and evil. In M77 she indicates and guards a treasure, and is mentioned together with Black Peter, a pseudonym for the Devil. She indicates treasure in M79 and M80, but the treasure is fool's gold--it does no good to her beholder. In M81 she and her daughters appear as the owners of the treasure, but neither here nor in M82 is she merely a ghost: she is more the Sleeping Beauty type, a woman under an evil spell. In M82, she lures the innocent to their deaths.

But she is at her most unusual in M83-M88. Here she is definitely evil--perhaps synonymous with death itself. Like the witches we have seen, she brings on epidemics

(M86). Then she appears naked--she is "de nåcktig mêd," who kills because she is cold, until she recovers the shirt she has lost (M87) or is given a new one (M88).

Not all ghosts cause wholesale slaughter to recover their garb. The old man in M89 contents himself with stealing the blankets from the poor apprentices. But the ghost in M90 takes the inducer of his nakedness with him, into the cold world of the dead.

The preacher on the white horse (M91) is an odd figure: he has no doubt been damned to find no rest, to preach to the dead until Judgment Day, for some sin he has committed. The Devil taking the good judge, Samuel Herbert (M92), is probably wishful thinking . . .. To be noted here is the motif of the bell of Zeid (or, rather, the kettle from which it was poured) in the ground; we shall see numerous other examples of this, a variation of the buried treasure motif. Indeed, the next legend, M93, is also a variant of the bell legend; the ghost calling for help is probably also held there by the Devil, or by a curse.

Legends M94-M96 are more examples of the ghost leading the poor to treasures, just as certain characters in Märchen. In M95, the ghost dwells in the "Fallthor," and disappears when his dwelling is destroyed. The ghost of M96 appears in a dream only--an appearance to which the rational mind can raise no objection.

Legend M97 is obviously a fragment--it is exactly as the many treasure-cave legends, in which the ghostly "old

man" appears as the guardian of a cave whose entrance is "revealed" from time to time. Numbers M98 and M99 belong in this group also. We shall discuss these again below.

The Berggeist of M100 is unusual chiefly because of being called that, the only ghost so named. His counting money reminds one of the soul of an accursed miser. His coat-of-arms, the gallows, derives from the many superstitions about hangings and hanging grounds. This ghost is, fittingly enough for a Berggeist, closely connected with the more powerful forces of nature, with the raw elements. He, too, guards treasure.

The legend about Georg Hanek, M101, is a ghost story only because the apparition is called that. But greyhounds with eyes glowing like coals are reminiscent of the Devil, and the flight through the air of witchcraft. We are moving from the realm of the dead to the kingdom of hell.

The "Pfarr" of the Bednerberg (M102) is an evil ghost--less in what he does than in what he looks like. In his appearance the ghost of the accursed landlord resembles the Devil himself. In both this and the next item, M103, we again note the association of the clergy with evil. The latter legend, with its detail of name, place and dates, is almost believable--perhaps the product of an insane mind.

The last two items, M104 and M105, were included

here for lack of a better place. Spirits of the woods, wild huntsmen, etc., so frequent in the tales of Austria and Germany, do not appear anywhere else in the Müller collection.

Turning now to the Székely legends, we note that ghosts have already appeared six times: in legends 013, 014, 018, 034, 050 and 056. In the first five they were only spirits that appeared as guardians of treasure and were not otherwise described; in 056 they were monks that frightened the passers-by. To these we now add the following:

061

A well in the Hungarian-Saxon village of PRÁZSMÁR (Tartlau) is called Heiliger Leichnam. It is believed to have magic healing powers.

Before the Reformation, a chapel used to stand here; it was a place of pilgrimage.

The chapel was torn down after the Reformation, and houses were built of its stones. But people could not live in these houses, because they were haunted at night by invisible ghosts (VI, 55-56).[83]

062

Outside of SZÉKELYDERS, by the Pénzespatak (Money

[83]This is from an oral account, but Orbán cites a certain manuscript here, "Syllogis m. Trans. Ecclesiae [sic]," LV, par. 15, in the Battyányi Archives at Gyulafehérvár, giving the story of the chapel and spring.

Creek), there used to be another village; its name has been forgotten long ago. There is much treasure there, including golden pickaxes and violins. The treasure is being guarded by nemtők (guardian spirits; I, 181).

063

Near the lower end of LÖRINCFALVA there are traces of an old road called Ördög utja (Devil's Road). People say there are often dangerous windstorms along its path.

Every night "odd looking ghosts" roll past on this road in a coach-and-six (IV, 50).

064

There is a hill called Várdomb (Fortress Hill) near CSOMORTÁN; people are afraid to go on it. A large, black ghost named Péter Simó, big as a buffalo, haunts the hill. He throws people to the ground and gets on their wagons.

Péter Simó was a bloodthirsty man who killed many people, including his own brothers and sisters. His soul can now find no peace and it roams here (II, 23).

065

There is a lake near CSIKSZENTDOMOKOS, called Emésztő (a pres. participle of emészt, digest, eat, swallow up).

The clapper of the church bell in the village was once found missing. The elders went to the house of the harangozó ("bell ringer," caretaker), who had hidden it under his bed. To their question, he said: "May I sink

out of sight, if I've seen it." Hardly had he uttered the lie when the earth started to quake. The elders ran in panic. The harangozó's house sank, with him in it, and the lake formed on the spot.

The harangozó's soul has found no peace since: one can still hear him yammering there at night (II, 89).

We thus have thirty-two Saxon ghost stories, but only eleven Székely ones--a ratio of three to one. An examination of 061 reveals, however, a possible written source; furthermore, Saxon influence is likely here. Legend 062 speaks of nemtők, a word whose precise meaning is not clear, though the poets use it for guardian spirits (of men, not of treasures). Quite likely, the word was inserted into the tale by Orbán himself. One does not know what to make of the "odd-looking ghosts" in 063 with their coach; we have seen tündérek taking such nightly joyrides, and those who did so were evil (046, 050). In fact, while the Saxons talked of a rich variety of ghosts, only two of the Székely legends mention deceased humans returning: 064, in which Simó comes back big and black, like a buffalo, and 065, about the harangozó--but the latter is no more than a tongue-in-cheek tall tale that serves as an etymological explanation for the name of the lake, Emésztő. And this all adds up to another singular fact about the Székelys: they not only disbelieved in witches and sorcerers, but--in comparison with the Saxons--evidently

also paid scant attention to the world of the dead.

D. Treasure Legends

We have already seen numerous examples of treasure legends and have noticed that nearly all of them have been connected with one superstitious character or another. Potentially, of course, all treasure legends are superstitious, for the obvious reason that those who "know" where a treasure is hidden have to explain away their inability to lift it. Also, money is often believed to be evil (especially by those who have none). Thus, all kinds of supernatural characters are associated with treasures, not seldom hypostases of the Devil himself. But as, in spite of a considerable variety, all these characters fulfill the same function, it seems advantageous to discuss them together. The establishment of additional categories would only lead to unnecessary complications.

In the following, we shall examine all remaining treasure legends from both collections, whether linked with the supernatural or not, to see in what respect the legends of the two nations differ from each other collectively. We shall present all of them for another reason also: to see what the origin of the treasures is. For in every treasure legend there are potentially three roles: that of the owner (the one hiding it), that of the seeker and that of the guardian.

So far we have seen treasure (incl. bells) mentioned in 20 Saxon and 34 Székely legends (M13, M14, M69, M76-M82, M92-M100, M103 and 06-014, 017, 018, 020, 021, 023-026, 028-034, 037, 039, 041-043, 050, 055, 057, 059 and 062). But, lest we conclude that the treasure legend is more popular among the Székelys, let us now see the remaining Saxon examples, beginning with the non-supernatural:

M106

A man still alive at the time of recording had gotten very rich all of a sudden in SCHÄSSBURG. That was, they say, because a Turkish pasha had once lived in his house, and the man found the treasure the pasha had buried there. And in the Beiergasse people found a buffalo-hide full of money during the remodeling of a house (149).

M107

The old Kirchenvater of NADESCH reported that he once found a bucket full of a yellow powder in the woods. Thinking it worthless, he threw it all away. Now he wishes he had kept it, for he would be rich: the powder was pure gold (146).

M108

There is a treasure hidden under the bottom step of the winding staircase of the Lutheran Church of SÄCHSISCH REGEN--so the local Tischlermeister swore to Müller, saying he had been told that by a priest while he was on a pilgrimage at Deményháza. A prince supposedly

donated it once upon a time, for the eventual expansion of the church (148).

M109

Attila and his treasure are said to be buried in the Attelsloch on the Attelshülle at SCHÄSSBURG. Attila had come here from Asia or Sicily; among other things, he had taken the city of Sandau near Schässburg. Attila was hit here by a sniper while he was eating. People who dig around the cave often find money (345; from an old man in Schässburg).

M110

A man in MÜHLBACH once buried his treasure. His neighbor saw him do it and later stole it. But our man suspected his neighbor and therefore decided to take the latter into his "confidence," by telling him he was going to add more to the treasure. He wanted the neighbor to know, he said, in case anything should happen to him. The neighbor hurriedly returned the gold to its hiding place and then went with its owner, who would now show him where the treasure was hidden. When they had dug it all up, or man thanked his neighbor, took the gold and went home. People are still laughing at the latter (611).

M111

In the so-called Freitum (a common field) of REPS there is a ravine called the Hôrleschgrôwen. It is said to be the entrance of a long hallway, at whose end there

is a door sealing off a chamber full of treasures (45).

M112

A man in SCHÄSSBURG--still alive when the legend was recorded--once passed by an evil place behind the hindmost gate of the Jewish cemetery one night. He noticed a poodle there, black as a raven, running some distance before him. It caused him to wonder--and, looking down, he saw a shiny, twenty crown piece on the ground. He picked it up and took it home. And no matter how often he spent it, it always came back to him, until he told his wife about it, who, in her turn, bragged about it to strangers. The coin then disappeared forever (81).

M113

At TEKENDORF there lived a poor man named Andreas Pauli and his wife, Threi (Katherina). Once Andreas saw a treasure "blooming" in the woods. He went there with his wife at night and dug up a barrel full of silver. They put the silver in sacks and took it home, taking care that no-one would see them. But the silver was wet and they spread it out in their yard to dry. Just then two Rumanian beggars came by and asked for a handout. Threi would not give them a copper. Immediately the treasure disappeared and the Paulis have been poor ever since (136).

M114

At MARPOD there used to be a fort, called the

Fleppesburg. Old people still remember its walls. Some say it was destroyed in the Kuruc wars of the 17th century; others maintain it was torn down for building stone for the village church.

On the Nonnenkuppe, near the fort, a treasure has been seen to "bloom." But no-one has succeeded in taking any of it yet. Either a storm has driven away the treasure hunters, or supernatural forces caused them to become so lost, they could not even tell where they had been (395).

M115

The fortress of JAAD, in which many people found refuge during the Tartar invasions, was built by a knight in the dim, distant past. When this knight saw he could not hold out any longer against the Tartars, he withdrew to another country but left his treasure in the fort. A shaft leads to the underground chambers where it is hidden. An iron door seals off the end of the shaft. Every year the door used to be open for 24 hours, during which time anyone could go inside and help himself. But once someone stayed inside too long: the door slammed shut and has never opened again since (143).

M116

There is a treasure buried in the Spitzburg, a mountain near SÄCHSISCH REGEN (cf. M11). Occasionally the mountain opens up and the treasure is revealed. A

shepherd from Eidisch once saw the entrance and went inside. But when he came out to get a wagon, the door slammed shut and cut off a part of his heel. Had he waited a moment longer, he would have been trapped inside the cave, for this happened just before twelve o'clock, at which time the mountain closes. The shepherd told about this himself [to Müller?] and showed his heel as proof (142).

0117

In the Unterwalden at HAMLESCH, a journeyman from Germany once stopped to sleep. He saw a huge treasure there. Being a knowledgeable chap, he put something of his own on top of it, to indicate taking possession. He marked the spot well and then returned to Germany to get his friends to come help him haul it away. But once home, he fell ill, became sicker and sicker and finally died. He described the spot the best he could, but when his friends came to look for the treasure, it was gone--at least they could not find anything (124).

0118

It is believed by the Saxons that it is dangerous to lift a treasure if one is not related to the person who buried it. Once, in SACHSISCH REGEN, a man named Michael Gottsmeister found a large crate of copper coins while he was rebuilding his house. He was not a relative of the owner, and the curse worked: first his children

died, then his wife and his mother. He, himself, soon followed them to the grave (137).

M119

A man in MÜHLBACH buried his valuables in his vineyard and cast a rather unusual spell on them. He sat on the treasure with his bare behind and said that only if the same bottom touched it again might the treasure be lifted. But his precautions did him little good. His neighbor had overheard him and told his relatives about it. When he died, they carted his naked corpse out to the vineyard and set him down on the magic spot--and they lifted the treasure with no trouble at all (134).

M120

A locksmith in MÜHLBACH heard strange noises in the basement of the house he was renting, and his apprentice was once awakened by a bearded old man who waved to him to follow. The locksmith told the owner of the house about it, who brought a diviner to the basement. Where his rod dipped, he saw, in the ground, a black hen sitting on many eggs; he who could solve this riddle would be made rich, the diviner said. For a long time the landlord tried to solve it, but when he was told that anyone lifting the treasure was sure to die in a short while, he gave up the whole thing (139).

M121

A place near NEUDORF is called Lăpesch (Hung. lápos,

marshy, swampy). Prince Apafi of Transylvania was once plowing there with his golden plow when he was warned that the Kuruc (Hung.; Hungarian rebels of the 17th century) were coming. Apafi quickly buried his plow and fled. The people of Neudorf did not forget the spot, of course, but when they tried to dig for it, one man found only a golden hen with chicks, another a black monster (150).

M122

Near the big oak tree at the entrance of the Wolkendorfer Grund near SCHÄSSBURG there is a great treasure buried. It is being guarded by turkeys. People have dug so much there that both the roadway and the tree itself are about to collapse (131).

M123

At SÄCHSISCH REGEN there is a forest called the Kond. It is haunted; black water buffaloes wander about in it, especially on St. Thomas' and St. George's days. Rich treasures are hidden there. Once a man named Simon Hill saw it "bloom" there and told his neighbor, Martin Rosmann, about it. They agreed to go out and dig for it at midnight. But Rosmann went out at ten already and started to dig. He found only a horse-skull full of toads. Angry, he threw it in through Hill's window. At once it turned to gold. When Hill later told him about this, Rosmann died of a stroke. But Hill reared Rosmann's

orphans and also donated generously to the Church (145).

M124

The Saxons believe that a treasure that "blooms" (gives off a bluish glow) in the daytime is not dangerous. If it blooms at night, however, the Devil often takes it back from the finder. Only if the treasure is above ground has he no power over it. Once an old man, living in the village . . . , went out to dig for a treasure at night. The Devil appeared to him in the shape of a black water buffalo and gave him chase. He was so badly frightened that he went mad (133).

M125

In the area called Ziperin, near SCHWEISCHER, there is a trunkful of gold buried. Once an old Gypsy found it and was about to lift it, when a black poodle came up and tried to keep him from doing so. But the Gypsy paid it little heed. The poodle then disappeared and a water buffalo came in its stead, putting a quick end to the enterprise. People say both were the Devil himself (156).

M126

During a war, an old miser buried his treasure near the bridge over the Alt at MÜHLBACH. The hole he dug can still be seen. The treasure is still in it: a silver ox with a crate on its back, and atop the crate a dog with eyes like burning coals. No-one can get to it: the Evil

One dwells in the dog (153).

M127

The hill in BIRK on which the Gypsies live is called the Scherzerrrêg, after a villager who once became involved with the Devil there. This "Scherzer" brought a lot of money from the hill, twice; but when he went back the third time, the Devil locked him into the mountain. No-one has ever seen him since (161).

M128

In the BULKESCH range people have often found broken earthware filled with ashes. The Saxons think they once contained a buried treasure that the Devil changed into cinders (135).

M129

Every midnight in SCHÄSSBURG a sow can be seen with twelve piglets near the old stone bridge. She is guarding a buried treasure. Wagons often get stuck on that spot and people's clothes are often torn from their backs in shreds. Whenever someone sells property near there, he always retains the rights to whatever treasures might be found on it later (127).

M130

At DÜRRBACH there is an image of a pig engraved on one of the stones in the church wall. It was on this spot that a pig rooted out the treasure from which the church was built (151).

M131

The herdsmen of SCHWEISCHER once drove their horses at high speed over the Koileberg. Some of the stragglers heard the sound of bells coming from underground. Another time, during a storm, people heard bells ringing--and when they tried to follow the sound, they ended up on the Koileberg. People believe there is a treasure buried there, and have dug for it, but with no success (111).

M132

Near the village of LESCHKIRCH there used to be another one, Angerden, but it was long ago destroyed during a war. People used to hear the sound of a bell ringing where the village had stood. Once a pigherd drove his animals there to root and a sow found the old bell of Angerden. She built a nest and had her piglets in it. The bell was taken to Alzen, where it is now the Johannisglocke (used to call the people to service; 112).

M133

The bell of KREITSCH was rooted out by a sow (114).

M134

There used to be a village in the Kükülló River Valley near ROD. It was depopulated by the plague and destroyed by fire. On that spot a sow rooted out what is now the middle bell of the church at Rod. In the be-

ginning it would peal the jingle: "Sau fand mich,/ Mann nannt' mich" (114).

M135

The bell of URBIGEN was found by 12 piglets (115).

M136

On a mountain near KLEINSCHENK there are ruins, the remains of walls. Bells are heard to ring there every year (117). The church bell of the village was rooted out by a sow (114).

M137

There is a pond at BROOS. It is believed that there is a silver bell in it, which a fleeing prince sank there. Man cannot get it, for it is held by a spell, but someday a sow will find it and make someone rich (116).

M138

The bell of the church at MALDORF was found by the pigherd of Rod, on the hill Henyekirch (cf. M12). A sow had her piglets in it (118). Other villages have claimed the bell, but it only rings here (416).

M139

The bell of a village in the Bogeschdorfer Kapitel (Müller does not know which one) is said to have pealed: "et hot mich en sea ausgegriewelt" (152).

M140

The famous tetragammaton bell of KLOSDORF was found by a sow (152).

M141

The oldest bell of SCHAAS was dug out of the ground by a sow (152).

Turning now to Orbán, we find the following additional treasure legends in his Székely collection:

066

A hollow near MAGYARHERMÁNY is called Isten Kasa (God's Hive), because in times of danger it afforded people a place of refuge.

A peak east of there is called Leshegy (Spy Mountain). The guard for Isten Kasa used to be stationed here.

In Isten Kasa there is a spring called Érceskut (Metallic Well). People believe there is a gold "run" (flow of gold underground) in it (I, 217).

067

Near BOÓS there is a valley called Kisernye. There is much tile scattered about there, and in the old days people often found ancient weapons on the site.

Kisernye used to be a village. It was destroyed by the Turks. Survivors of the massacre founded Boós.

The chain of mountains separating Kisernye from the Nyárád River Valley is called Kincses. Some say another

village, Kincses, used to lie on those mountains. But others believe it is called so because the people of Kisernye hid their valuables there (Hung. kincs: "treasure"; IV, 179).

068

A mountain near ETÉD is called Sajgó Bérc (Painful Peak). Many bloody battles were fought on it in the old days. The many caves on the mountain were hiding-places for valuables (I, 145).

069

On the Nagy Vártetõ (Big Fortress Top) at GELENCE there used to be a fort. There is supposed to be a treasure buried there (III, 135).

070

Near BERECK, on the right bank of Bereck Creek, there are the ruins of a Roman castrum, simply called vár (fort) by the people. In the north-west corner of the castrum there are remnants of other buildings, believed to be the treasure-laden cellars of the vár (III, 124).

071

A barren mountain below OLTSZEM is called Leánykavár (Little Girl's Fort). Tradition has it that a fort used to stand here, and that there is a treasure buried on the spot (III, 57).

072

Near SZEPVIZ there is a mountain called Pogányhavas (Pagan Mountain), so named because the Székely ancestors, persecuted by the Christians, used to worship their god there.

On the highest peak of the Pogányhavas there used to be a fort, now gone without a trace. There is a treasure buried where it once stood (II, 75).

073

A deserted mountain near BESENYŐ is called Várhányás (Fortress Pile). According to tradition, a pagan fort stood on it once. Across from the Várhányás a ridge bears the name Bálványos (adj. form of bálvány, "idol"). The pagan ancestors used to worship their god here (III, 184).

074

In a valley near KISBOROSNYÓ, where the two branches of the Kispatak Creek join, there is a round hill. People often find bits of tile and brick on it.

A fort stood on it not long ago, the Pogányvár (Pagan Fort). Old people say that when they were children, the walls were still several fathoms high, but that the neighboring villages hauled away the stones to line their wells with them.

There are vaults under the old fort, so big that once, during a fox hunt, a fox and a dog disappeared in

them and it took them a quarter of an hour to surface again. That is how long it took the dog to chase the fox around all the underground chambers. There is a treasure in these vaults (III, 164).

075

In the Bélmezõ Valley near KARÁCSONFALVA people often find pieces of tile and old urns. They say the Dacians or the Turks once had a city here. When the conquering Hungarians came, they chased the natives away. One of the fugitives shouted back from the mountaintop that three barrels of money were buried at the spot where the sun's rays first hit every morning--but the treasure is still there, it has never been found (I, 185).

076

On the banks of the Cseje Creek near ETÉD a hill is called Budvár. A vezér (Hung. "leader," "general") named Buda once had his fort on it. A ravine nearby is called Kincses Árok (Treasure Ditch). Buda's treasure is hidden in it (I, 145).

077

The court of Attila used to be at SZÉKELYUDVARHELY (lit. "Place of the Székely Court"). Three forts there, Budvára and two others, now all in ruins, were supposedly built by the Hun leaders Kadicsa and Zéta. The land near Budvára has been dug up by treasure hunters, because Buda, Attila's brother, is believed to be buried there in a

triple coffin of gold, silver and iron (I, 41 and I, 60).

078

Near BARÓTH stand the ruins of an ancient fort, Tiburc Vára (Tiburc' Fort). Tiburc was the last pagan priest who held out in his faith here in the days of Szent István (St. Stephen of Hungary).

In the center of the fort there is a large mound, in whose side a cave opens. Tiburc is buried there with his treasure and his ritualistic implements.

A spring that bubbles up in a ravine nearby is called Vérárka Feje (Blood-Ditch Head). People a long time ago used to make sacrifices here to their ancestors. Then it became a place of pilgrimage for the Catholics, until Emperor József (Joseph II. von Habsburg) forbade the practice (I, 213).

079

A height in the woods near ALDOBOLY is called Bás, after a rich lord who is said to have had a fort there once. There is a buried treasure there (III, 36).

080

A rocky mountain near SIKLÓD is called Dávid Vára (David's Fort). A certain Lord Dávid withdrew to this mountain following the Tartar invasion. The treasure he buried is still there (I, 143).

081

On the mountain Héhegy at NYOMÁT, a certain King Süger is said to have had a palace. There are underground chambers here, where he hid his tremendous wealth (IV, 60).[84]

082

Tradition has it that a fortified monastery once stood near HARAJ; its bastion is said to have been on the site of the present church. There is supposed to be a treasure buried there (III, 135).

083

A foothill of the mountain Bekecs, near **SELYE**, is called Palota (Palace). Bronze age relics are often found on it, and the area is littered with bits of tile and brick.

Tradition has it that an order of monks had a fancy "palace" here. When the Tartars massacred the people of Selye during an attack, the monks managed to escape, but first they hid their bell and their treasure in the palace well. The Tartars leveled the palace.

The monks never returned, but they recovered their treasure. The monastery at Mikháza was built from it (IV, 82).

[84]Orbán shows that a rich nobleman named János Süger did, in fact, have a castle here during the reign of István Báthory. Orbán, loc. cit.

084

A cliff near BRASSÓ is called Salamon Köve (Salamon's Rock). Salamon, deposed king of Hungary (11th century), took refuge here; he built himself a little chapel on the rock and spent the rest of his life here as a hermit. When he felt his end epproaching, he hid his crown in a hollow tree. Later it was found by shepherds. The city derives its German name (Kronstadt) from this fact. King Salamon's treasure, which he buried nearby, is still believed to be there (VI, 205 and VI, 305).

085

At the western foot of MEZŐKÖLPÉNY's Mt. Bocsok there is a spot called Füzes (Willow Grove). Large amounts of broken tile lie scattered here, and people have sometimes found pieces of weapons. Some say the Turks had a fortified camp here; others believe that the rubble is that of a village, Füzes, which was destroyed by the Tartars. The treasure of the village and its bells are believed to be buried nearby (IV, 201).

086

A spot near UJFALU is called simply Faluhelye (Village Site). A village named Komlós used to lie there.

Komlós was destroyed by an enemy. The survivors of the massacre moved to Krizba and to Ujfalu. The bells and valuables of Komlós are said to be in an old, dried-up

well at Faluhelye (VI, 412).[85]

087

A valley near SZÉKELYSZÁLLÁS is called Himosvölgye. A village, Himos, used to lie here. A well in the valley is called Harangoskut (Bell Well), because during a time of peril the villagers sank their bells in it (I, 156).

088

A spring near ISZLÓ is called Szentpéter Kutja (St. Peter's Well). Much brick and tile rubble surrounds it.

A village named Szentpéter used to be here. It was destroyed by the Tartars; the village bells are still thought to be in the well (IV, 98).

089

The village of MÉNES used to lie further up the valley, at a place called Pusztatemplom (Desert Church), where traces of construction can still be seen. The Tartars destroyed it.

Within the perimeter of the walls of what must have been a fortified church here, there is a pit that is believed to have been the well of the church yard. The bells

[85]Orbán refers to a certain Ostermeyer Chronicle here, according to which the Saxon patricians of Kronstadt ordered the village of Hopsiven destroyed in 1561. This may have been Komlós (German Hopfen, Hung. komló, "hops"; komlós, "place where hops are grown").

of the old church are still supposed to be in it (IV, 196).

090

Near HARASZTOS a place is called Pusztatemplom (Desert Church). Traces of church walls are still visible, and human bones are often dug up there in quantity.

This used to be the village of Hori. During the Kuruc wars of the 17th century its people were caught in a surprise attack and massacred. The few survivors joined with those of another destroyed village, Bogáth, to form Harasztos.

Not far from Harasztos there is a well, called Bogáth Kutja. They say the bells of the destroyed village are still in it (V, 80 and V, 124).

091

A peak below VÉCK is called Tatárvár (Tartar Fort). Below it there used to be a village, Hagya. The Tartars of the fort destroyed it.

The people sank their bells and valuables into the so-called Harangoskut (Bell Well), then fled to found the present village of Hogya, near Székelyudvarhely (I, 155).

092

On the Nyirtető (Birch Top) at KÖRISPATAK there used to be a fort. A hole there is said to have been its well.

The Tartars took the fort and butchered its defenders, but they knew nothing of the treasure. It is still

there (III, 51).

093

SZÉKELYKERESZTUR was founded by an order of Christian knights.

Near the old church, where some traces of construction can still be seen, are the remains of an old well. This used to be the well of the knights. During the Tartar invasion, the large church bell was hidden in it. It is still believed to be there (I, 24).

094

During the Tartar invasion the large bell of the church of BEREKERESZTUR was hidden in the marshes. Later, people were unable to find it.

One day an old boar rooted it out and took a nap in it. The pigherd turned it over to the villagers (IV, 76).

095

UGRA used to lie further up the Maros Valley and its name was originally Hosdad.

Some say that Hosdad was once a famous city and add that it was attacked by the Mongols or the Cumans. Under the leadership of a warrior named Barasó, the people of Hosdad went up onto the mountain and entrenched themselves. They beat back several attacks of the enemy, but were suffering from a terrible thirst, for they had no water. Then Barasó stuck his lance into the mountain and

cool, clear water gushed forth. Seeing this miracle, the enemy grew frightened and withdrew.

Others say that Hosdad was abandoned for lack of water. But the bells of Hosdad are believed still to be in the well, at its original site (V, 37).

096

A hill near JEDD is called Kincses ("Place of Treasure"). It is believed that a rich treasure is buried in it. An old woman reported to Orbán that a Turk had a stone goat excavated from there once. He opened its neck with a key and took out a large pile of gold and jewels (IV, 180).

097

A cliff near VÁRFALVA is called Csergőkő (Rattling Rock). It is full of gold.

Two Rumanians from Berkes once found the gold. They swore they would go there only together, but one of them broke his word and went back alone. On his way out the other, who had followed him, stabbed him to death. Just then a rockslide covered both of them. It is since that time that the Csergőkő gives off a rattling sound that mixes with the rush of the river below (V, 194).

098

At the source of the Gáron Creek near PATAKFALVA a place is called Faluhelye (Village Site). The village of Gáronfalva, destroyed by the Tartars, used to lie here.

There is a treasure hidden on this spot. It is being hauled by people from Hungary (I, 159).

099

There is a treasure in the well called Muharos Kutja (Grassy Well) at ETÉD. People from Hungary are hauling away the treasure on horses that are shod backwards (I, 217).

0100

Facing SZENTISTVÁN, at a place called Virgó, there are a few deserted gold-mine shats. People from Hungary are still hauling ore from there (IV, 28).

0101

Southwest of BODOK there is a peak with ruins of a fort on it, called Kincsás Vára; on the northwest corner of the ruins there is a ditch, Kincsás Árka.

There is a gold "run" here: gold drips from the rock, solidifying in candle like shapes. It is being hauled away by people from Hungary (III, 55).

0102

In the valley of SZÁLTELEK there is a spring called Kincseskut (Treasure Well). Around it there used to be a village named Kincsesfalva (Treasure Village). The Christian inhabitants were once attacked by Székely rebels who, under a leader named Vatha, returned to

their pagan religion.[86] The villagers hid their bells, chalices and private valuables in the well. This treasure is still there, held by a spell. On quiet nights one can hear the bells ringing (IV, 207).

0103

KERCSED used to lie elsewhere, in the so-called Fejéregyházi Völgy (White Church Valley). Its name was then Recsed.

One day the young people of Recsed were dancing in the Játszókert (Lustgarten) on Dezse Közbérce (Mt. Dezse Commons), when Tartars suddenly descended upon them. They cut down those who resisted and took seventy youngsters of both sexes away to the Crimea for slaves. Very few of them ever came back.

After the attack on the Játszókert, the Tartars went down and razed Recsed. The survivors came here to found Kercsed.

In the Fejéregyházi Völgy--so called because of a white church that used to stand there--there is a well, the Lencséskut (Lentil Well). The bells of the white church are still hidden in it. They cannot be removed, for they are under a spell (V, 119-120).

[86]There was a rebellion against the Christian crown in the eleventh century, led by a Vata from Békés County, Hungary.

0104

At the foot of the Fiasmál ("Mountain with Little Ones") near TORDÁTFALVA there are twelve small, round mounds.

A very rich, miserly man once lived in a castle at the top of the Fiasmál. Once a hungry traveler asked him for food. The miser threw him out. The traveler cursed him, whereupon the shiny castle sank underground with its master, and the stacks of wheat at the foot of the mountain turned to stone.

The miser's treasures are still buried in the Fiasmál. Though people dig for them, they can never be lifted, for they are still under the curse (I, 118).

0105

Near SZENTÁBRAHÁM are the headwaters of the Ing Creek. This used to be the site of a Dacian settlement. The Dacians were scattered by the Scythians. The Dacians' treasure, which they sank into the Ing, is still there. It cannot be taken because it is under a spell (I, 121).

0106

On the Galáthtető (Galáth Top) at KISGALAMBFALVA stand the ruins of a mighty fortress called Galáth or Galambot Vára. They say it used to be a border fort of the old Székelyföld.

The Tartars took Galáth Vára and made it their headquarters; they had their collecting station there for

booty and slaves. For this reason the fort also used to be called Tatárvár.

The cellars of the fort are still full of riches. Every seventh year their door opens, but the treasure is under a spell and cannot be taken (I, 28).

0107

A mountain east of SZENTÁBRAHÁM is called Zsidóhegy (Jew Mountain), because the village was originally inhabited by Jews. They had a fort, Zsidóvár, on the mountain.

The immense treasure of the Jews is still hidden in secret vaults inside the Zsidóhegy. Once a girl, out picking berries, found their secret entrance. She went in twice, brought out a load of precious stones and dumped them outside. But as she was coming out for the third time, the door slammed shut and cut off a part of her heel. The gems she had taken turned into cinders (I, 121).

0108

Overlooking ZETELAKA are the ruins of a fort: Zete, or Zéta Vára.

Zéta was a mighty pagan lord, who had two beautiful daughters and a son. The son went away from home and became converted to the new faith.

When he returned, he called upon his father to become Christian. But Zéta laughed at him and his new god.

Just then the earth shook and the fort collapsed,

burying Zéta and his daughters, who at that exact moment were working on some gold embroidery. Zéta's son alone escaped, by jumping his horse off the high cliff. The hoofprints of his horse can still be seen on the rock below.

Zéta had a tremendous wealth hidden in the vaults of his fort. This treasure is still there. Every seventh year, on St. George's Day, the door opens and the treasure is revealed.

About a century ago a man named Botházy found the door open and went in. There he saw Zéta's two daughters, still embroidering. "How long will you tarry here, little sisters?" he asked them. "So long as cows give warm milk and women bake with leaven," they replied.

Botházi filled his cap with gold and went out, but the door slammed on his heel and cut a part of it off. He was a bit lame the rest of his days.

He soon lost the wealth the accursed money brought him, however; now his descendants live in poverty (I, 67).

0109

The highest peak of the Karisfal Chain at NAGY-SÓLYMOS is called Várhegy (Fortress Mountain); on it are some traces of an old fort. It is said that the fort used to belong to the Turks, and that the pasha who lived in it used to keep the countryside terrorized by kidnapping girls. When the conquering Magyars came to Transylvania,

they chased the Turks away. But the latter first hid their treasure in the almost inaccessible, man-made cave in the side of the Várhegy, called Kincseslyuk (Treasure Hole.) The treasure is still there, guarded by magic water buffaloes and greyhounds.

A spot west of Nagysomlyós is called Bálványos (Place of Idols), because the Hungarians held their victory sacrifice there (I, 152).

This gives us a total of 56 Saxon and 78 Székely treasure legends. We see at once that the treasure motif is numerically more important than any other, for either group. That this should be so is not surprising: more wars have been fought in Transylvania than perhaps any other corner of Europe, and its people were often forced to flee in haste, leaving their valuables safely hidden, buried, in caves or in the country's thousands of bottomless wells. This may also explain why the Székely legends are greater in number: the Saxons had stronger walls, they took to the hills less frequently. (This is so, even though the Székelys mention forts more often. These "forts" were often small, primitive earthworks. Even where they afforded protection for the villagers and not just for their complements, they were only places to retreat to as a last line of defense.) The brunt of the Mongol attacks, of the punitive Turkish expeditions and of the Austrian campaigns was also

directed chiefly against the Székely settlements. The Saxons escaped much of the first because they were not in the main line of march of the Golden Horde; more often than not, they bought off the Turks; and they were sometimes more pro-Habsburg than the Austrians themselves.

As we should expect by now, we see that a far higher number of Székely treasure legends are free of a supernatural connection than Saxon ones: thirty versus six (030, 066-093, 096 and M106-M111, respectively). But we have to add here that in many of the remaining legends the supernatural characters are merely incidental to the treasure motif: the treasure neither derives from them, nor is it guarded by them; only the locale is common. In the Saxon group we have three such legends (M13, M92 and M131), in the Székely ten (06, 07, 011, 020, 026, 037, 039, 041, 059 and 095). And that leaves forty-seven Saxon, but only thirty-eight Székely legends with a supernatural element tied in with the treasure itself.

The difference becomes even greater if we separate the supernatural characters according to whether they are mythical or superstitious. If we do this, we find that all of the forty-seven Saxon legends are connected with superstitious characters, but only thirty-four of the Székely items: in four of the latter (08, 09, 023 and 043) the connection is with a mythological "owner" only (giants in the first three, a <u>tündér</u> in the last; in the remaining treasure legends with a <u>tündér</u> tie-in, that

character is superstitious or also superstitious). In terms of percentages, this means that we have a superstitious correlation in 84% of the Saxon, but in only 44% of the Székely legends, a gap so great that it makes the possibility of deriving merely from a difference in interviewing technique on the part of the two collectors unlikely.

In addition to the mere quantitative difference, we also note a qualitative one, in the kinds of superstitious characters involved. This is most obvious if we notice the guardians of the treasures. Thus, in the Saxon set we have a spell/curse (which we count as a "character" because it fulfills the same function) alone in eight items (M14, M113-M119). In M114 we again see the motif of flight through the air, but there is no mention of witches. Witches, being mortal, are not wholly in the realm of the supernatural, and do not, therefore, appear as treasure guardians. And M119 is, of course, making fun of the belief in spells. But in the majority of cases we have ghosts--themselves under a spell sometimes--acting as guardians: poltergeists in M76 and M77, a white woman in M78-M82, a bewitched princess in M83; voices (spirits) or bells in M93 and M131, a "male" ghost or "old man" in M94-M99 and M120 (Darius and his vassals in M98). These are all frightening, but by no means necessarily evil figures: in many cases they also act as pilots for the poor to riches, even though the treasure often eludes the

intended beneficiary, usually through his own fault. To a somewhat different set belong the black priest in M103 and the many animal figures: the black hens, turkeys, buffaloes and dogs (M77, M81, M112, M120 and M122-M126). These are not only frightening, but also evil creatures. Indeed, they are sometimes synonymous with the Devil himself: the poodle (M112 and M125), the water buffalo (M124 and M125) and perhaps the turkeys collectively (M122) are all his materializations.

In contrast, the Székely treasures are guarded by tündérek (021, 024, 031-033 and 050), nemtők (062), a white snake (034), a dragon (055) and numerous spells, usually of the periodic trapdoor variety also known to the Saxons, all of which may or may not be frightening, but never evil. The Székely ghosts are really only spirits that evidently have no form, though they can speak (013, 014, 018 and 050). The allusion to human sacrifice in 050 is unique in the collection. Evil creatures are the pulyák in 028 (the dwarfs who kick out their pious guest; there is nothing magical about this flight!) and the gonoszok of 057, of whom, however, we have no clear picture. When we move to the animal characters, we see that the Székelys also mentioned the water buffalo (0109) and roosters (black or red, in 029, 042 and 050), but no hens, eggs or chicks. They mentioned dogs, too--not poodles, but hounds (010, 025, 0109; in 010 the greyhound is of brass). To these they added black goats (018), a fire-spewing white

stallion (025) and a "magic cat," though the latter helps build Rabsonné's fort and is not guarding treasure (050).

Are the pulyák, gonoszok and the animal figures synonymous with the Devil--or devils--here too, creatures of the underworld? Most likely. Although no link-up with the Devil is stated directly, we shall see a definite connection between devils and roosters, at least, further below. Yet the overall impression one has of these characters is that, though evil, they are not so in the same sense as their Saxon counterparts. Not only because they are less vivid; there is something missing from these Székely legends, a mood or moral attitude the Saxon tales evoke--that the treasure itself is evil and its quest sinful.

Very rarely is a treasure hunter successful, in either set of legends. In M77 the poltergeist leads to silver; in 023 the shepherd packs three horses with gold. Sometimes the quest itself is successful, but the gold turns into worthless stones or leaves, as in M80 or 018. But the very worst that can happen to a Székely finder (aside from losing a part of his heel, a motif common to both sets) is that he dies a poor man anyway (0108). To him, only the quest itself is dangerous. The Saxon, on the other hand, becomes tainted by seeking or touching the Devil's money, and he is often punished horribly for yielding to temptation: he goes insane (M103, M124), the treasure lures him to his death (M82), or the curse

kills him (M117), even all his kin (M118). The motif is not only Germanic but also Christian. The Saxon treasure often "blooms" (the Székelys mentioned this only once, in 041). What is this "blooming," but a symbol of the Devil's temptation?[87]

The only Székely legends in which there is anything resembling a motif of Christian derivation are 028, of the black pulyák and the shepherd, and 097, in which the Rumanian treasure seekers are covered by a rockslide. But in the latter an oath had been broken and a murder committed: it is not for seeking the treasure that the men are punished. And even 028 has its own Székely twist. In Catholic demonology and legends based on it, the taking of the name of God has a magic effect: the world of shadows is supposed to disappear at its very mention. The pulyák do not disappear; they simply kick out the guest who has so rudely refused their pagan hospitality.

In connection with the treasure seekers, we note that both nations demonstrated the belief that foreigners are more likely to get the treasure than natives. In the Saxon legends, this is expressed in M14 (foreign Sonntagskinder); in M13, M94 and M98, Rumanians appear as the treasure hunters; in M117, a journeyman from Germany is

[87]To be sure, the phenomenon has a rational enough explanation. Transylvania sits atop an ocean of methane gas; small leaks often ignite and burn with an eerie, bluish flame. The writer himself has seen "treasure blooming" in the hills of the Mezőség.

put in this role, in M125 an old Gypsy. In the Székely legends, "foreigners" are specified in 018, a Saxon in 059, a Turk in 096, Rumanians in 097 and "people from Hungary," no foreigners but outsiders, in 010, 017 and 098-0101. But we also note that the treasure seeker is a shepherd in one Saxon (M116) and six Székely legends (023, 028, 031, 032, 050 and 084)--and sheep herding was and is a Rumanian specialty in Transylvania (though not exclusively so). If by the shepherds the Székelys meant Rumanians, then the majority of their treasure hunters were foreign.

The Saxons mentioned treasure hunters more often than the Székelys. Except for the foreigners referred to above, the seeker is usually merely "a man" or "people," but sometimes his name is stated, and all so stated are Saxon (M103, M113, M118 and M123).

The Saxons looked for treasures in their own back yards, the Székelys out in the mountains, usually near forts or monasteries (real or imaginary), or else in caves, springs or wells. While only eight Saxon treasure legends mention forts, forty-five of the Székely treasures are on prominent mountains on which forts once stood. Twenty-six Saxon items speak of house walls, yards, stalls, haylofts, fields, etc. as hiding places; none of these is mentioned in the Székely corpus. Only two Saxon legends place the treasure in water; eighteen Székely treasures are in water (of which eleven are bells in wells). And even if we allow for the possibility that

Orbán concentrated more on forts than Müller, we can still conclude from this that the Székelys tended to associate buried treasure more with prominent places--and people--than the Saxons.

This leads us to consider the question of the owners of the treasures. Whom did the hoards derive from?

Excluding for the moment the bell legends, we see that the Saxons mentioned giants as owners (M14), a "bewitched princess" (M82), King Darius (M98 and M99), Turks (M100--a whole field army!--and a pasha in M106); monks or nuns (M103; Nonnenkuppe in M114), "a prince" (M108), Attila (M109), "a knight" (M115), Prince Apafi (M121) and an old miser (M126). In the remaining legends the owner is either not specified, or else he is just an ordinary farmer. In contrast, the Székelys mentioned giants or tündérek fourteen times, sometimes giving their names: Ilona (023, 042, 043), Rabsonné (050), Bábolna (025). But with the forts there comes a list of lords, warriors, legendary heroes: Csombod (030), Sámsond (032), Zsuzsa Sándor (039), Buda (076), Kadicsa (077), Tiburc (078), Bás (079), Dávid (080), "King" Süger (082), King Salamon (084) and Zéta (0108). All of these, historical or not, are romantic heroes, many of them pagans (Buda, Kadicsa, Tiburc and Zéta for certain, Csombod, Sámsond and Bás probably). And even where there are no names, we often have references to the pre-Christian past (Po-

gányvár--Pagan Fort--in 014, 032, 073 and 074; Pogányhavas--Pagan Mountain--in 072; Bálványos--Place of Idols--in 073 and 0109; Dacians in 075 and 0105; Turks in 07, 036, 075, 085 and 0109, and these cannot mean Ottomans; and Jews--i.e., non-Christians, in 0107). In addition, the Székelys also mentioned monks (082, 083), a miser (0104) and King Darius (037 and 041). There is no mention of ordinary people, except collectively, by villages, hiding their valuables before an enemy attack.

In all of this we can clearly see that the Székely treasure legends are much more romantic, heroic, than the Saxon ones. The Saxons had fewer eminent heroes, and those they had they did not link up with treasures. (The only legendary great men they name in this connection are the Persian Darius, the Hun Attila and the Székely Apafi.) Secondly, we note that most of the Székely treasures are "older" than the Saxon hoards: they have their roots in the distant, legendary past, and not chiefly in superstitions. That is, perhaps, one reason the superstition-quotient of the Székely legends is so much lower. It is harder to associate evil with the treasures of positive heroes (i.e., heroes a people identify with) than with rootless money, money without such historic tie-in.

The figure of King Darius as owner is curious. We do not know why and how Darius became associated with

Transylvania, but Dárius kincse (Darius' Hoard) is proverbial there, a phrase freely used when speaking of great or sudden wealth. Quite likely the motif is very old. But the preoccupation with it may come from an interesting hoax that L. Kőváry recounts: a burgher of Kolozsvár (Klausenburg) named Pál Varga, who had suddenly become inexplicably wealthy, was supposed to have found the Darius treasure and left behind a description of it in his last will and testament. This "document," dated July 26, 1716, existed in several "originals." It gives a detailed description of the hoard and instructions on how to reach it. Not only ordinary people were fooled by it: even Steinville, the Austrian governor of Transylvania at the time, sent an expedition out to search for the treasure.[88]

We still have not examined the numerous bell legends presented above. Most folklorists would not put these in the same category with treasure legends at all. Thus, Lutz Röhrich writes:

> Zur christlichen Schicht der Sage gehören . . . auch die zahlreichen Glockensagen: versunkene Glocken läuten aus der Tiefe der Erde oder des Wassers. Die Sage schildert die Glocke selbst als eine Art übernatürliches Wesen: sie kann von selbst ihren Standort verändern, sie läutet von selbst, sie vertreibt böse Geister, Unwetter und Hagel. Das Gebetläuten begrenzt die Geisterzeit. Unter dem Christlichen verbirgt sich freilich oft Vorchristliches. Wenn aber in diesen Sagen z.T. auch ältere Vorstellungen vom Lärmzauber

[88]Kőváry, Száz történelmi rege, pp. 25-35.

> und von der Abwehrkraft des Metalles fortwirken, so sind doch die typischen Glockensagen erst im Zeichen des Christentums entstanden.[89]

We have only a very limited number of items in which the above might hold true: e.g. M93, in which the bells are heard at Christmas, or 0102, in which the bells of a razed village are heard to ring on quiet nights. But in the majority of our legends the bell is more properly an item of buried treasure, for it appears in the same context as treasure. In the typical Saxon version, the bell of a long-destroyed community is found by a sow (M133-M141). The pig as a symbol of luck and prosperity among Germans is well known (in M130, the pig roots out the money from which the church of Dürrbach is built). The Székelys mentioned a pig only once (094). In the typical Székely version, the defenders of a fort or village bury their bells or sink them into a well before fleeing, along with their other valuables (the giants in 018, Csombod in 030, the villagers in 085-095, 0102 and 0103; in the last two the bell is held by a spell. The implication is that the bells of Transylvania are esteemed not because they are religious objects, but rather because of their material worth. And it is no wonder: the bells were, after all, one of the largest common financial investments--and therefore the pride--of any commune; and since they were sought

[89]Röhrich, Sagen, pp. 35-36.

by every enemy since the Turkish wars for gun metal, they were always carefully hidden during invasions. Once we understand this, we can perhaps also see the motif of the ghostly bells ringing in a new light. It could be merely the way this particular type of treasure "blooms."

E. Devil Legends

The figure of the Devil has been mentioned several times in the legends we have examined so far: three times by the Székelys and nine times by the Saxons, in various forms (027, 045 and 050; M59, M78, M92, M112 and M124-M128). Let us now present all the remaining occurrences of this character in the two collections, starting with the Saxons:

M142

Near FELDORF there is a strange, huge trench called the Teufelsfurche. The field near it used to belong to Feldorf, but a man from Zendrisch "schwur es ihnen mit Erde in den Stiefeln ab" (he put Zendrisch soil in his boots so he could swear that he was standing on Zendrisch soil during the trial). But he soon received his due for the perjury: the next night people heard a rustling and saw him pulling the Devil's plow. The furrow it made is the Teufelsfurche (90).

M143

The mounds in the Wolkendorfer Grund near SCHASSBURG are devils' graves. Under every one there is a devil

buried, the worst under the highest mound. No-one dares dig there; people are afraid they will get air and come alive (164).

M144

A poor vintager of SACHSISCH REGEN once sat under a small, two-year-old walnut tree. Things were going badly for him; crop failures and hail were about to ruin him. As he sat there, feeling sorry for himself, the Devil appeared to him in the shape of Piter Hanes, a well-known old vintager and Wetterführer, and asked what ailed him. When our man had explained, Hanes said: "I'll help you from now on; you'll not have to work so hard and I'll keep disease, hail and frost from your vines, if you'll promise to hang yourself on this walnut tree when I tell you it's time." The man mulled it over for a while, but then decided to strike the bargain. Surely, he thought, he would be old and tired by the time the tree could bear him. He signed the contract, in blood. And all went well for him afterward: he became rich and was well loved by all. But as the tree grew, so did his fright.

One day an old popa, renowned for his skill in banishing devils and witches, dined at his house and he made a clean breast of things. The popa said it was a difficult case, yet agreed to help. The man was to ask the Devil permission to pray before he hanged himself, a request that would surely be refused; then he was to ask that the Devil turn aside at least, facing sunset, so as

not to see the man's death throes.

And so it happened. The Devil, now in his true form, denied the prayer, but saw no harm in granting the second wish; he turned aside as the man put the rope over his head. But the popa had in the meantime crawled to the spot under the cover of the fence, and he now rushed at the Devil with prayer and crucifix. A bang, a stench of brimstone--and our man was saved.

But not for long. Soon thereafter he fell ill and died a wretched death. The tree still stands, a huge walnut that casts its shadow far. No grape grows near it (158).

M145

In a village there lived a handsome youth who made sport of seducing girls. But since he did not always succeed, he made a pact with the Devil, who gave him the power to whistle so enticingly that no girl could resist him. In return, he was to give the Devil every twelfth maiden's soul. And afterwards, whenever he whistled, all the girls would drop their work and run into the streets; and he would pick the prettiest one, take her by the arm and lead her off to the woods, there to have his pleasure with her. But no girl ever returned: he hanged them, every one, on a tree.

Eleven girls had disappeared thus and the villagers were frightened. Then a young man noticed that the evil youth--for all were by now suspicious of him--was eyeing

his sister. She wanted to go with him; she could not resist the whistling. But her brother restrained her--and, putting on her clothes, went in her stead, after locking her safely inside.

In the woods he saw eleven corpses hanging on a tree, and his seducer told him to make ready to be the twelfth. "Gladly," the youth replied, "For I love you so, I'll willingly die for you; but let it be quick, I beg you, and spare me my honor." "So be it," the other replied, anxious to give the Devil his due. But when he drew near with the noose, his victim seized it and hanged him instead. A wind arose and from it a voice cried: "Be glad he hangs, not you; for the twelfth soul is mine!" (159).

Turning to Orbán, we find the following additional items:

0110

A place below MÁRÉFALVA is called Ördög Oltára (Devil's Altar), because sacrifices to a pagan idol used to be held there in the old days (I, 69).

0111

The levy-like embankment that runs across most of the Székelyföld is called Tüdnérek Utja (Road of the Tündérek) by the people of BÖZÖDUJFALU.

A cruel landlord, János Daczó, once lived in Bözöd-

ujfalu. He so mistreated his serfs that he even hitched them to plows. After his death, the devils hitched him up and made him plow this long furrow (I, 150).

0112

The large embankment running through SZENTDEMETER is called Ördögborozda (Devil Furrow).

Three cruel men, Csáki, Balázsi and Nyujtódi, lived here once; they became rich by pressing the common people for money.

They decided to build themselves a fine castle (the so-called Gyulafi Castle, still extant). They said, "We don't care who lives in heaven as long as we can live in our castle."

The third night after the castle stood, the Devil appeared and hitched them to his plow. He plowed this large furrow with them. Cowherds heard the Devil's whip crack and heard him call, "Ho, Csáki, hey Balázsi!" Later, the villagers found the Devil's plowshare. It was so huge that after they had made the hardware for nine wagons out of it, there was still enough metal left for an axle.

People add that this Balázsi had been reared by a Polish Jew, and some say the Jew left him the money for the castle. But the Jewish upbringing soon showed: Balázsi became a "Sabbathist" (a Székely pseudo-Jewish sect long persecuted) and converted the people of the area to his

faith. For this his property was confiscated and he died a poor man (I, 158).

0113

The same "furrow" as in 0112 is also called Ördög-borozda by the people of NAGYSÓLYMOS. The Devil made it with his mighty plow. He wanted to divert the waters of the Kükülló River, but he could not accomplish it, for he could not turn around with his huge plow (I, 152).

0114

The identical embankment (as in 0111-0113) is called Kakasborozda (Cock Furrow) at OLASZTELEK. A giant rooster is said to have plowed it with a huge, sharp rock.

On the meadow of Olasztelek there is a big boulder. This was the rooster's plow.

The rooster forgot the time and suddenly had to fly off at dawn; he left his plow behind (I, 209).

0115

There is a round, six-foot-high rock formation near SZÁLDOBOS, with a hole (depression) in its center.

This was the huge millstone with which thirty-two magic roosters made the Kakasborozda (cf. 0114). Dawn interrupted their work and they had to fly off. They dropped the millstone here (I, 223).

0116

On Mt. Kelemen, near CSOMAFALVA, there is a peculiar rock formation that looks rather like a mill; it is called Ördögmalma (Devil's Mill). This is where the Devil used to grind the seeds of sin. But God turned the mill into stone (II, 140).

0117

Near SZENTEGYHÁZAS-OLÁHFALU there is an embankment called Ördögborozda (Devil Furrow). The devils wanted to build a mill here, to grind the seeds of sin, and wanted to plow up the Hargita Range to plant them in. They rolled their huge millstone this way. Sometimes they picked it up, that is why the furrow is broken. They only made one furrow because the crowing of the rooster interrupted their work (II, 10).

This gives us a total of thirteen mentions of the Devil or devils by the Saxons, eleven by the Székelys. But the problem of classification is difficult; clearly, there is a taboo operating here, particularly among the Saxons. The many animal forms (the poodle in M112 and M125, the black water buffaloes of M124 and M125, the dog in which "the Evil One" dwells in M126) all attest to this, as does the "schwarzer Peter" in M78 (though this item is hardly a true local legend). We could, in fact, have added several other legends here, on the basis of similar treasure guardians in the same context. The

Devil is mentioned as such in M92, M127 and M128, but he remains remote: he has locked up the judge or the "Scherzer" into the mountain, he has changed gold to cinders. Only in M59 and in M142-M145 does he appear directly, in his true form, though this is not described. And only in M59 does he appear as the Hexenvater at a witches' sabbat, in an item we have called a doubtful example of the local legend.

The Székelys seem to have been somewhat more outspoken about the Devil. Here, too, we note that the "monks" and "gnomes" in 056, and possibly the gonoszok in 057 might have been included here. In 063, also, we have a mention of the Ördög Utja, the Devil's Road, although without comment (the name itself is popular in its several variations among the Székelys, wherever the embankment runs; it was recorded many other times by Orbán, not in the context of legends); the superstitious figures that travel it are "odd-looking ghosts," however, not devils. The rooster is clearly synonymous with the Devil--yet this rooster is very different from the Saxon guardians of treasure, the black hens. In 050, 0114 and 0115 we have huge, "magic" roosters (in 0115, thirty-two of them!) who build things: forts (Rabsonné's, in 050) or "roads" (dikes, "furrows," in 0114 and 0115); and we see the Devil in the same context: he builds bridges (027), roads (045, 050, 0111-0113, in 0111 and 0112 with

human help, to be sure, a motif shared with the Saxons--cf. M142). Ördögborozda and Kakasborozda are the same, so are the motifs of mills and millstones or plows common to the rooster and the Devil legends. We have also seen both the stones and the dike associated with tündérek (in 048, in which the evil, flying tündér Tartód and her swarm of assistants drop the huge stone, and in 0111, in which the "road," though made by the Devil, is called Tündérek Utja). The Devil or devils grinding the seeds of sin are an interesting addition to the mill motif.

What can we make of all this? Ipolyi, who had no Székely legends at his disposal, suspected that the pagan Magyars may have had some kind of a mythical or superstitious conception of the rooster and quotes a passage from Eckehard to support his contention. Speaking of their attack on the monastery of St. Gallen, Eckehard writes of the Magyars: "duo ex illis accederunt campanarium, cuius cacuminus gallum aureum putantes, deumque loci sic vocatum, non esse nisi carioris metalli materia fusum, lancea dum unus ut eum revellat se validus protendit, in atrium de alto cecidit et periit," whereupon the Magyars, frightened by this, beat a quick retreat, "eo quod gallus deus ignipotens sit tandem misso . . .." And he mentions a Vita St. Idae, according to which the Magyars, attacking a monastery at Herzfeld, near Lippe, are chased off from the towers, where they had climbed to remove the bells (!): "aliquid esse divalis numinis sus-

picati . . . ," and Ipolyi suggests that it may have been the rooster atop the tower. But are these valid deductions? Ipolyi himself points out that the conclusion of Eckehard's account may be interpreted to mean that the gallus deus ignipotens was called that by the local people, that is, that it was they who believed it had chased off the attackers.[90] The roosters atop buildings all over Western Europe can hardly have been put there merely to scare off the Magyars. In any case, although Ipolyi's speculation is interesting, it does not help us understand the precise relationship between the Ördög, the Devil, and the huge kakasok of the Székelys, which are, as we have seen, essentially synonymous in the legends.

One thing is certain: the Székely Ördög of the legends has little to do with the Biblical Satan, little, indeed, with the superstitious Devil of the Saxons. Even in the roles in which he may be anthropomorphic, the Ördög is placed back into a mythical past (045, 050). He is connected with paganism (0110). Legends 0111 and 0112 are the only exceptions, and they are variants, with the Saxon M142, of the same theme. We can in fact safely say that the Székely Devil, as illustrated in the majority of these legends, was strictly mythical, along with the giants, the huge roosters and many of the tündérek. It is reasonably certain that no-one among the Székelys still believed, a hundred years ago, in this kind of a Devil.

[90]Ipolyi, I, 327.

No-one claimed actually to have seen a giant rooster, either.

This does not mean, of course, that the Székelys did not believe in the Christian Devil. The word ördög, whatever it may have meant once, received a new content in the vernacular of the Church, a content that is no different from that of the western--or Saxon--stereotype. But the interesting thing is that the new Devil was hardly mentioned by the Székelys, as if he belonged to the world of Christianity alone, a world with which they came into contact only on Sundays, and then only in the abstract. One myth had replaced another, but had not become a superstition.

The Saxons demonstrate a consistency in their superstitious beliefs here, too. Along with their Hexen, Geister and other creatures of superstition, they maintained a current belief in the Devil--or devils--of Christendom. But it would be false to assume that their Devil derived from the teachings of the Church, any more than the witches did. The reverse is much more likely: that the Christian Devil evolved from simple, Germanic superstitions to the complex, medieval character we see reflected in items M144 and M145 (which are obviously not typical examples of Saxon local legends but well-polished creations of skillful narrators).

F. God Legends

God is named directly, as a participant, in no Saxon legend and in only three Székely ones: he takes away the power of the impudent giants in 027, wrecks Tartód's fort in 048 and turns the Devil's mill to stone in 0116. But, named or not, he is not a character like the other supernatural figures we have seen: he never appears in a personified form.

The God of our legends remains only an elemental force of or in nature, but as such he is a frequent and important presence. We have already seen him at work in several other Székely legends. The blasphemous Jenőné and her coach are turned to stone (046); Zéta's fort collapses when he laughs at the new God (0108); the miser's palace sinks out of sight and his grain stacks petrify (0104); the cheating Rumanian and his murderer are buried in a rockslide (097); the lying harangozó is swallowed by water (065); like Moses, Barasó springs water from rock (095). On the Saxon side we have had, till now, only punishment for greed in the various treasure legends (periodic trapdoor, disappearing treasure), and it is difficult to separate divine justice from the perfidious world of evil in them. But the Saxons knew other motifs, too, similar to the Székely ones:

M146

The old fort of STOLZENBURG (built in 1341) was to have been erected on a nearby mountain, but three nights

in a row the stones rolled down into the valley, to its present site. It was seen as an omen and the fort was built here (108).

M147

The identical story as in M146 is told about the church at GEORGSDORF (109).

M148

The people of SCHAAS had wanted to build the old church (no longer extant) on a nearby hill; but that which they put up by day fell down by night. Finally, the outline of a church appeared on the ground in white, and the people decided it was a sign to build there (107).

M149

A man stabbed his wife "not long ago" in BULKESCH, then went out to work in the field. When he returned home, he found her corpse surrounded by people. As he stepped into the room, the corpse began to bleed from its wounds. When the judge heard of this, he had the man summoned and the latter confessed. Before he could be sentenced, however, he hanged himself (88).

M150

Two youths loved a girl in BULKESCH. As one of them was about to move to the city, he took leave of her, saying it would no doubt be forever, for she would surely promise herself to his rival when he was gone. But she

swore it would not be, and might lightning strike her if it were. Yet so it happened: her parents liked the other suitor better, and she said yes. The marriage took place in the fall. The next spring she was caught in a storm in the vineyard. She took refuge under a tree--and lightning killed her. People still show the tree to visitors (223).

M151

On a mountain near SENNDORF there is a deep marsh called Grändelsmôr.

One day a Senndorfer farmer was plowing there with his oxen. The day was hot and the farmer cursed the sun, striking toward it with his whip. The next moment he sank out of sight with his team and the field turned into the present bottomless swamp (3).

M152

Near NEUDORF there is a well. Once upon a time pure wine flowed from it. But then the people of Neudorf and Rotberg, the neighboring village, became Protestants. Their priests refused to make the change with them, and would not allow their parishioners to take wine with their communion. The people therefore went to the spring to take the Lord's Supper. Unfortunately, the two congregations quarreled and defiled the holy proceedings. At once the wine turned to water--but it is still so good that all who drink it know it must have been more than

plain water originally (182).

Let us now see the remaining Székely legends that belong here:

0118

The old church at Szentmihály Mountain, near LEMHÉNY, built during the first centuries after Christianization, was falling into ruin; a new church had to be built.

The people of Lemhény, who by now had learned to like their comfort, decided to make it easier for themselves and to build the church down in the village. But that which they built by day was torn down by night: the angels carried the stones back to Szentmihály. The church was rebuilt on its original site.

(The legend has another variant: the church at Szentmihály Mountain is exactly halfway between Lemhény and Homoródalmás. Both villages use it. But the Lemhényers wanted the new church for themselves. The villagers of Homoródalmás came to Lemhény at night, dressed in white sheets and driving white oxen, and hauled away what had been built by day. Lemhény took them to be angels. III, 119).

0119

Near NAGYSÓLYMOS there is a huge cliff called Kőosztava (Stone Loom). A fort, Sóvár, used to stand here.

The mistress of the fort was weaving one Sunday.

Her komaasszony (her child's godmother) scolded her for desecrating the holy day. "I just want to finish this piece," the mistress explained. "With God's help," the other added. "I'll finish it, whether he helps or not!" she snapped back. Hardly had she uttered the blasphemy, when she and her loom were turned to stone (II, 22).

0120

The old Roman castrum near BERECK (cf. 020) is called Veneturné Vára (Mrs. Venetur's Fort). Some say this is a corruption of the name of the mighty Székely patriarch who built it, Benet ur (Lord Benet), and that the fort was razed by the Mongols.

Others say the fort's mistress was Veneturné, a very rich woman. She had a son fighting in the king's army, in a distant land. Fearful of losing her great wealth, Mrs. Venetur had this impregnable fortress built. When her son returned, the arrogant mother rode out to meet him, to tell him of the new fort. But the son expressed doubt that the new fort would be as solid as the old.

"Not even God could take it!" his mother told him.

Offended by this blasphemy, the son refused to go the rest of the way with her to the new fort. And no sooner had Mrs. Venetur arrived at home, when the fort collapsed, amidst thunder and lightning. Mrs. Venetur

changed into a stone toad: she is still there in the rubble of her fort (III, 124).

0121

An old miller once lived in the mill at the foot of the old tower of IKAFALVA (cf. 029). He had an ill-tempered, quarrelsome wife. The miller decided to bury his mill, with his wife in it. He went up into the tower therefore and started to tear down the wall, so that it should fall on the mill. But he had hardly begun when his arm withered. Just then a sudden rainstorm came and washed away the mill and his wife.

Another time a cocky young man went up into the tower on a bet and started to tear the wall down. At once he was struck dead by lightning (III, 96).

0122

Near FITOD, on the road leading to Szentlélek, there is a monument, a rock about eighteen feet high and six feet square. According to some, it was erected in memory of a leader named István Tompos, who fell here during the Tartar wars. Others say it commemorates János Czakó, a primor (lord) of Szentlélek, while others still claim it marks the victory of Királybiró (Royal Judge) Xantus Keresztes near Harasztó, in 1694. Whoever is right, the monument is held to be inviolable by all. Once a soldier fired his musket at it, but his ball

ricochetted and killed him instantly (II, 31).

0123

At Gyárosfalva, now a suburb of SZÉKELYUDVARHELY, there is an old chapel called Jézus Kápolnája (Jesus' Chapel). It used to be a place of pilgrimage.

A long time ago, when Budvára (cf. 076 and 077) was already held by Christian knights, the Tuhudunok (meaning unknown) used to come here to make their sacrifices.

The best Christian archer, crying the name of Jesus, once shot an arrow among the Tuhudunok, more than a thousand paces distant. The latter became so frightened that, taking up the cry of Jesus, they became converted. The chapel was built to commemorate this event.

(According to others, it was during the Tartar wars, when the people had taken refuge in Budvára and were starving, that a famous archer, asking Jesus for help, shot the Tartar khan through the heart. The chapel was built where the khan fell--I, 45).

0124

There is a spring near OROSZHEGY to which sick children are taken. It is believed to derive its strong healing powers from the fact that King Szent László once bathed in its waters (I, 104).

0125

At the foot of Mt. Hegyes near HÉTFALU there is a spring. In the old days there was another spring here that gave borviz (lit. "wine water," i.e., mineral water with natural carbonation). The water had a high curative power, and the ill came from far and wide to partake of it. But then a foreign lord seized it and started to sell the water for good money. The villagers cursed him. One night a big storm arose and an earthquake shook Mt. Hegyes; the original spring was buried by a landslide. In its place a new spring came to be, giving only cool, clear, ordinary drinking water, but free for all to use (VI, 162).

0126

On the western edge of IKAFALVA there is a spring. It is said to have sprung from the blood of a knight who was killed here. This knight was a champion of the goddess Furuzsina; hence the name of the spring: Furuzs.

The water is vérviz (blood water). It gives great strength to those who drink of it. That is why, when a man from Ikafalva defeats one of another village in wrestling, people say: "It's no wonder, for he grew up on Furuzs' water" (III, 93).

0127

On the eastern slope of the Kardoshegy (Sword Mountain) at IKAFALVA, so called because the knights of Ikavára used to fence on it, there is a well called Hágó-

kutja (Mountain Pass Well). It sprang from the blood of those who were killed in duels here. It is vérviz, and strengthens him who drinks it (III, 97).

0128

In MEZŐMADARAS there are two springs that spew a black, thick, foul smelling water. Children and animals often drown there when the water is deep.

Two innocent people were once beheaded here. The vile waters sprang from their spilt blood. The wells require a periodic sacrifice as atonement for them (IV, 204).

0129

At the crossroads near CSIKSZENTTAMÁS there is a mound called Hazugság (Lie, Fib). A traveler was once murdered here by highwaymen. His blood did not stop flowing from the ground until a memorial was made for him (II, 74).

0130

Where the waters of the Kormos and the Vargyas join near OLASZTELEK, there is a mineral spring, the Rákosi Kut.

When the Huns arrived at this spot there was a lake here, called the Csodató (Wonder Lake). The Dacians had a camp around its shores.

Attila killed the Dacians off and had the lake filled with their corpses. From their burial place

sprang the waters of the Rákosi Kut (I, 223).[91]

0131

At PÁSZTORBÜKKI there is a spring under a huge beech tree. Endre Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and a holy man, stopped by there once to rest. He had been forced to flee by Mihai Viteazul (Vallachian voivod who invaded Transylvania in 1599), "who was the captain of a robber band, a son of hell come to earth to trample on justice."

Báthory was so tired that he fell into a deep sleep. In vain did his táltos (magic horse) whinny and scrape the ground to awaken him: two hired killers, the brothers András and Adalbert Kerestoly, cut off his head. They took it to Mihai, but he grew frightened and could thereafter find no peace: the food in his mouth turned to fire, the water to flame. Not long afterward he found his miserable end (he was murdered by his own men).

On the spot where Báthory was killed, blood bubbled from the ground for seven years. Anyone approaching the place would get stuck in the mud and be surrounded by an army of dancing rabbits. These rabbits could not be killed with shot.

For seven years only weeds grew here, and the villagers either left or starved to death. Finally,

[91]From an oral account, but Orbán also refers to Uj magyar magazin (New Magyar Magazine), I (1853), 175.

after seven years, a young, unblemished priest was able to approach the blood spring. He placed a cross into the ground and the blood ceased to flow. The cross took root and turned into the huge beech tree, and the land became fertile again. Yet the rabbits at Pásztorbükki still cannot be hit with shot--and the right arms of the Kerestolys are longer than their left ones (II, 89).

0132

A beautiful lake near BÜKSZÁD is called Szent Anna Tava (St. Anne's Lake).

A long time ago a fort used to stand on this spot. Across from it, over the Büdösbarlang (lit. "Stinking Cave"--a sulphurous gas well) there used to be another.

Two brothers, who always vied with each other, lived in these forts. They agreed with each other only in one thing: both were cruel to the people they ruled.

One day a foreign visitor came to the fort at Büdös in a coach-and-six. Never had the eyes of man seen the likes of his horses. The Lord of Büdös wanted to buy them, at any price, but the visitor would not sell. Thereupon the lord tricked him into a game of dice and not only won his horses from him, but all his money as well.

That evening he visited his brother, to show off his horses. "Well, Brother," he boasted, "do you have any horses such as these?" "Indeed not," the other admitted. "But I shall. Not like these: I'll have even prettier

beasts!"

"That I have to see," replied the Lord of Büdös.

"And so you shall," his brother replied, "within twenty-four hours!"

"I'll tell you what," the first one egged him on, "I'll give you my fort and everything that's mine if you come to me with six animals finer than these!"

"I'll be there, Brother. Not with six, but with twelve!" the other snapped.

All day the vain man thought of how to make good his boast. Finally, he had an idea: he would have all the pretty girls of the region brought to his fort and hitch the twelve fairest to his coach. At once he sent out his servants, and, before the day was past, had picked out the twelve most beautiful maidens.

The prettiest was Anna: she was hitched in the lead. Their master then jumped up on the driver's seat, cracked his gold-tipped whip, and shouted:

"Giddapp, girls!"

The poor creatures tugged and pulled, all to no avail: they could not budge the heavy carriage.

The whip came down on Anna's back again and again, so hard the blood flowed. "Pull, Anna, pull!" the lord shouted.

"God damn you!" Anna screamed back. "May the earth swallow you up, you bloody murderer!"

In that instant the earth trembled; there was

lightning and thunder. The fort and its towers collapsed and sank into an abyss. Then water covered the chasm.

When the sun came out again, all was quiet. There were only twelve swans swimming on the still waters of the lake. They swam to shore, shook themselves and changed back into girls again.

All returned to their villages except Anna, who built herself a chapel on the lakeshore and withdrew from the world for the rest of her days. Already in her lifetime the people called her a saint, and they named the lake after her (III, 74-75).[92]

0133

Near DÉCSFALVA there is a marshy pool called Feneketlen Tó (Bottomless Lake).

A village named Sárdas used to lie here. The villagers were so immoral, however, that their village finally sank underground and its site was covered by water (I, 35).

Counting all the old and the new items, we thus have twenty-five examples of various kinds of divine intervention in the Székely group, but only seven in the Saxon (excluding the treasure stories).

[92]Orbán also gives a variant ending, in which the master of the fort turns into a dragon, but the lake, having been dedicated to St. Anne and her twelve virgin companions, destroys him.

Orbán used oral sources for these versions, but the legend was previously published in the yearbook Háromszék (ed. Ede Kern), at Sepsiszentgyörgy, in 1861.

The Saxons had no parallel to 027, 048 and 0116, the acts of God against mythical characters or devils. Blasphemy and petrification, an important Székely motif (046, 0108, 0119 and 0120), was not mentioned by the Saxons. Lightning striking the offender was mentioned by each group once (M150 and 0121). The tower of Ikafalva is an oddity in this, too (cf. 029, the story of the huge, winged giant, etc. Here the structure itself is held to be inviolable). Omens were mentioned more often by the Saxons (M146-M148); the Székelys reported the same motif twice in the same locale, the second version making fun of the first and of those who believe it as well. Legend M149 is unique here; it has no parallel in the Székely collection.[93] In the Székely equivalents, the blood flows from the ground.

The swamp legend, M151, is interesting because the "blasphemy" is against the sun, not God. Its Székely counterpart, 0133, is more typical, the Sodom and Gomorrah motif. The legend of St. Anne's Lake, 0132, rests on a similar foundation, but it is ornamented with many Märchen elements and has an ending resembling a saint's legend (the name of the lake makes this indicated). This is perhaps the most-published Székely legend there is, and, as noted, Orbán's rendition is not the oldest.

[93]Although the motif is well-known among Hungarians, if for no other reason than János Arany's famous ballad, "Tetemre hivás" (Inquest).

The two spring legends, 0125 and M125, seem quite similar at first glance, but what appears as a Biblical miracle in reverse in the Saxon version probably derives from a linguistic misunderstanding. The naturally carbonated waters of the Székelyföld's numerous mineral springs are called borviz, "wine water," a word for which there is no Saxon equivalent. Somewhere, someone in the Saxon community could easily have heard and misunderstood a legend such as 0125. For even though there is a superstitious element in the Székely tale, too, it is not wine that turns to water here, merely borviz to ordinary viz.[94]

Legends 0126 through 0131 have no Saxon equivalents: water springs up where someone has been killed, usually someone innocent. That such water gives strength to the drinker was reported only at Ikafalva (0126 and 0127). We do not know what to make of the goddess Furuzsina: Ikafalva's legends are exceptional indeed (cf. 029, 0121)! We have already seen foul smelling water flow from where the evil tündér of Kászonfeltiz was stuffed under a rock by the King of the Water Women (052); the same motif occurs in 0128. In 0129 and 0131, it is blood that keeps flowing at the scene of the crime; the other superstitious elements in the latter (the rabbits, the loss of fertility, the cross growing into a tree, the young, unblemished priest) are unique in the collection. (Báthory's murder is

[94]Occasionally such wells lose their gas content in fact.

historical.) We are in Csik here, the Székelyföld's only solidly Catholic seat, where neither the Reformation nor the Enlightenment ever penetrated . . ..

The spring legend 0124 is obviously of Catholic origin also, although Szent László is the Székely saint par excellence, popular among the Protestants, too, as a national hero. The miraculous shot in the two variants under 0123 needs no comment: it, too, is a Catholic theme (though only because of the tie-in with Jesus; impossible shots are themselves a widely known legendary motif). The Tuhudunok are a mystery: Orbán tries to derive the word from the name of the legendary Magyar leader, Tuhutum, mentioned in medieval chronicles as the conqueror and governor of Transylvania.[95] And 0122, finally, is again an example of the inviolability of holy places (cf. 086, 0121). That we find no parallels to these in the Saxon collection is hardly surprising: this kind of superstition, the worship of sacred places and objects, had been successfully repressed by the Lutheran clergy after the Reformation.

In summary, we can say that God was the biggest taboo of all for both Saxons and Székelys, as it logically follows from the teachings of Christianity. The Christian God is not a part of the microcosm of the Transylvanian village: he is far too big, too far re-

[95]Orbán, I, 45.

moved, too abstract.[96] What we do encounter is an unnamed, primitive force, perhaps Nature herself, meting out justice and taking vengeance on the sinner--more frequently a Székely than a Saxon. For the Saxons had a punitive mechanism in their other superstitions, in their demonology. The Székelys may have made up for this lack by believing more in the quick sword of a natural--and rather pagan--god.

[96]Jesus is another matter, but Müller's several Jesus anecdotes have not been considered here. Orbán did not record such tales, whether because he did not hear any or because he--quite rightly--did not consider them to belong with the rest of his material, we cannot tell.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing we have examined a total of 285 local legends, 152 Saxon and 133 Székely. These numbers are in themselves significant: the first volume of Grimm's Deutsche Sagen, with which our corpus may be compared as to content, included 363 legends, or only 78 items more. But the relative importance of our material becomes even greater when we consider that whereas only about one-fifth of the Grimm legends were recorded at least in part from an oral account, all of ours came immediately from the popular tradition. Our legends are, furthermore, from a much smaller geographic area covered more systematically, during a far shorter time span. The collection as a whole should represent, therefore, a superior cross-section of local legend samplings, perhaps the most thoroughgoing of its kind possible to compile for anywhere in the mid-nineteenth century, certainly for East Central Europe. That, in addition, it covers two distinct, yet culturally similar ethnic groups, is a bonus whose value cannot be overestimated.

We have already made a detailed contrast and comparison of the various Saxon and Székely supernatural characters in parallel. Keeping in mind the limitations outlined in Chapter I, let us now see what conclusions we

can draw from a general summary of the material.

We have mentioned above (p. 31) that Müller recorded 333 items in 144 villages and that Orbán collected 672 legends in 244 localities. This gives us about 2.3 items per village for Müller, about 2.8 for Orbán. The figures are of course very rough, partly because of Müller's numbering, but especially because of the many unknowns surrounding the mechanics of both collections. Yet they tell us something: for if we keep in mind that Müller, whose focus was exclusively on legends, was active in the field for over forty years and that Orbán, to whom the legends were merely incidental, for only seven, we are justified in stating as our first conclusion, that, in spite of the lower number of Székely items included in this study, the Székelys were no less inclined to tell local legends as such than the Saxons. In fact, the opposite would seem to be true. But they were far more interested in the kinds of legends not touched upon here: historical items not dealing with the supernatural.

A statistical analysis of the types of legends told by the members of the two nationalities will bear this out. Accordingly, of Müller's 333 items, 152, or 46%, are supernatural and treasure legends, while for Orbán the same figures are 133 out of a total of 672, or only 20%. If we deduct the treasure legends without a supernatural connection (6 Saxon and 30 Székely), we have an even

greater contrast: 146 Saxon, but only 103 Székely legends contain a supernatural character, or 44% and 15% of the total, respectively. And from this a second conclusion follows: that the Saxons were about three times as likely to tell supernatural legends as the Székelys.

If we now group the legends in the (admittedly far from precise) categories we have used in the foregoing chapters, we count, for the Saxons, 33 mythical and 133 superstitious items, for the Székelys 55 and 48 (correcting the latter for the instances in which the tündér is superstitious would almost exactly be offset by the cases in which the devils were mythical). In terms of percentages, this means that 74% of the Saxon, but only 36% of the Székely supernatural legends was superstitious. Of the total number of legends, 33% of the Saxon group was superstitious, in contrast with an almost negligible 7% of the Székely ones. Our third conclusion, then, is that while superstitious legends were highly popular with the Saxons, for the Székelys they were a very unimportant category.

A character count will make the distinction between the two groups of legends even sharper. Ignoring the miscellaneous spells and animal treasure guardians, we find that the Saxons mentioned a supernatural character 126 times. In order of decreasing frequency, these were: ghosts (32 mentions), witches (27), giants (25), sorcer-

ers (13), devils (13), God (7), dragons (5), little people (3) and water sprites (1). The total for the Székelys is 120, divided as follows: tündérek (30), giants (29), God (25), devils (11), spirits (11), dragons (5), little people (3), water sprites (2), witches (2) and sorcerers (2). Breaking these up into the mythical-superstitious groupings, we see that 92 of the Saxon, but only 51 of the Székely characters mentioned are superstitious. But the fact is that we can discount Székely witches and sorcerers entirely, as demonstrated (in Chapter III, parts A and B), and we remember also that the Székely devils were superstitious in only a minority of cases. Allowing for the transitional tündér, then, we can state that except for the giant, all important Saxon characters were superstitious, and, conversely, that the only important Székely superstitious character was God (as seen in the legends). God alone accounts for well over half of all Székely superstitious character mentions, no matter how we make the count.

With all of this we have really only stated the same thing a number of different ways: that in the 19th century the Saxons were still strongly preoccupied with superstitious characters, the Székelys hardly. And since we have defined a superstitious character as one that is believed in, we can translate the statement to say that, insofar as superstitious characters were concerned, at

least, the Saxons were a highly superstitious people and that the Székelys were not--save for a belief in God as seen in the legends (we are not, of course, talking of God as taught on Sunday).

This conclusion is at first glance surprising. It seems to contradict the usual, sophisticated assumptions linking superstitious belief with simple country folk.[97] We should have expected that it be the other way around, for the Székelys to have been the more superstitious: their society was namely more rural, probably less educated, formally, than the Saxon[98]; it was the Székelys, more than the Saxons, who lived out in the mountains, lonely valleys and woods. But the legends demonstrate the opposite.

The conclusion also contradicts the assumption that superstitious beliefs similar to the demonological Saxon ones were to be found universally at one time. Our evidence seems to indicate that in the Székelyföld they were almost entirely missing a century ago; nor do we have any reason to suppose that such were ever widely current there.

The most important implication of our evidence,

[97]That the witch trials of the West were largely an urban phenomenon says nothing counter to this; the courts were, after all, in the cities and towns.

[98]Though the Székelys--or, more correctly, the Hungarian Transylvanians--had had a number of highly respected academies for two or three centuries, these hardly affected the masses.

however, concerns the propagation of legends across ethnic boundaries. The Székelys and Saxons had lived side by side for nearly eight centuries at the time our material was recorded, had shared the same history, the same religion, to a large extent also the same social organization, to some degree even villages and towns. Yet as far as their supernatural legends are concerned, they might as well have been living on different sides of a Chinese wall: there was almost no borrowing between them. The only substantial point where the two sets of legends seem to coincide is in the mythical character of the giant; but even here there is no reason to assume overall borrowing, with the obvious exception of the giant's daughter motif. The giants were otherwise quite likely autochtonous in both cases: we have seen that the Saxon and Székely giants had generally different attributes, and have even hinted at the possibility that the source of the latter may have been linguistic (great warriors become big ones).

What explanation can there be for the sharp differences and for the lack of borrowing? Why were the Saxons superstitious, the Székelys essentially not?

One could say, perhaps, that it was merely a question of temperament, that the Székelys were by nature more rational (if, indeed, non-belief in the supernatural implies this) than the Saxons. But such an explanation is far too simple: human nature, being rooted in the

human organism, must be basically the same in every group and race. We have no reason to suppose that the Székelys were never more superstitious than when Orbán knew them. In fact, we must assume the opposite, for otherwise they would be an exceptional people indeed.

In the previous chapter we stated that the definition of the word superstition depended on the world view of the definer and that the rational views or even the scientific knowledge of one age or time often become the superstitious beliefs of the next. We can pursue this thought further: it follows that a given geohistorical culture will define as superstition any credence which is out of phase with its intellectual evolutionary curve, with its general Weltanschauung (no matter whether ahead or behind; what if there really are flying saucers?). And if we assent to this, we immediately see that it was the Saxons, not the Székelys, who were seriously out of phase--lagging behind--in their view of the supernatural, in 19th century Europe. It was their beliefs that were long superseded.

It could be objected that this is a question of social class, and such an objection is valid to a degree. Certainly the educated Saxons did not share in the beliefs of their peasantry. But the Székely farmers were, if anything, even less educated than the Saxons; still, they were more in rapport with the times. Education and class development are therefore not the explanation for the

difference, and even class structure should have favored the enlightenment of the Saxons more.

We can attempt an explanation if we approach the question from another side. First, we should expect that, all things being equal, i.e., remoteness from centers of intellectual learning, parallel political histories, etc., the lag behind the times in Weltanschauung of the two groups should have been about the same at any given point in history. Clearly, in the 19th century, it was not. Why not? What factors held the Saxons back, and what factors allowed the Székelys to get ahead? What caused the Saxon superstitions--or at least certain Saxon superstitions--to survive better than the superstitions of the Székelys? Conversely, what caused the Székely beliefs to wither? In other words, what was it that reinforced the Saxon beliefs, but lent no support to those of the Székelys?

One could list many factors, but only one could have been decisive: the teachings of the Church.

It is surely no coincidence that every one of the characters we have seen to be superstitious by our definition--God, ghosts, spirits, witches, sorcerers and devils--are such that, although not necessarily deriving from Christian dogma, were nevertheless taught by the Church, or at least recognized and dealt with by her. Conversely, none of the mythical characters we have encountered was ever at home in the Christian churches:

the Church had nothing to say about tündérek, and not much more about the remaining ones. (The references to giants in the Old Testament and St. George's dragon were dogmatically meaningless.)

However, this is not sufficient. For by the time our legends were recorded, the Church--or, rather, the churches--were no longer preaching witches and sorcerers, and were decidedly deemphasizing devils and ghosts; and with respect to God, dogma had come to stress a loving, Christian deity very unlike the raw, pagan, divine elements we see operating in the legends. Still, such beliefs survived; and we cannot be far from wrong if we seek a psychological reason for the fact.

What do our superstitious characters have in common? As a group, only this: all of them are more frightening than not. For centuries, the Church had instilled fear of these characters in the people; and fear dies slowly, is seldom extinguished by mere reason.

Fear probably explains the overall strength of the Saxon characters and the weakness of the Székely ones as well. The Church, the dominant force and sole authority of their spiritual world, had taught a score of Transylvanian generations to fear and abhor devils, witches, ghosts and all other creatures of the night--and she taught a terror of God. The fear and terror persisted, were handed on from mother to daughter, father to son, long after the Church had taken a different tack. Bishop

Müller's testimony about the Saxon witch trials (pp. 128-129) must continue to haunt us.

The Székelys were fortunate. The Church took no cognizance of their beliefs--not those, at least, which we could still trace a hundred years ago. The Székely priests and preachers could orate neither for nor against the superstitious characters of their people: the Church was Germanic in tradition and knew only the Germanic characters. And if they expounded against witches and ghosts: these were around, to be sure, but certainly not in <u>their</u> congregations. For though the Church reinforced the Saxon beliefs by calling their objects evil and driving them into the subconscious, her teaching was not strong enough to instill the same in a population that did not possess some sort of belief in those objects already beforehand.

What happened to the Székely beliefs--whatever else they may have been once upon a time--is that they either became mythical (the transition can still be seen in the <u>tündér</u>!) or that they disappeared completely. The same thing must also have happened to Saxon beliefs that were not reinforced. In fact, the two groups of legends are more similar in what they do <u>not</u> contain than in what they do.

It is not the purpose of this study to pursue the development of Christian dogma and its interrelationship with popular belief in Transylvania and elsewhere. How-

ever, it is a simple historic fact that the Church had two attitudes (and, for that matter, continues to have two attitudes) toward whatever she considered superstitious at any given time. She viewed those superstitions that were incompatible with dogma one way, those that were compatible another. In the millenium during which her hegemony was exclusive, she exterminated the former, and, when necessary, even their carriers; the second she either ignored or adjusted to her teachings. It is no accident that we have such little evidence of the old pagan gods of Europe (except for areas and eras in which the Church could not or would not use absolute methods, e.g. Iceland or the Baltic). In our Székely legends, for example, there was much talk of paganism, yet the one, isolated mention of an alleged goddess--Furuzsina--is totally without meaning for us. But the Devil and all other Germanic, demonological appurtenances the Saxons were still talking about to Müller are another matter: these were not only compatible with dogma, dogma made it impossible to deny their existence without making the whole structure wobbly. The greatest heresy of all listed in the Malleus Maleficarum, the handbook of the Inquisition, was to doubt the existence of witches.[99]

As for the Székelys, their greatest sin must at one

[99]Malleus Maleficarum. Trans. with an introd. and bibliogr. by the Rev. Montague Summers (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1928), Chapter I.

time have been a disbelief in the "new God." Time and again, blasphemy against this "new God" is punished in the legends with a vengeance--and we note that God is also the most viable Székely superstitious character. Here, too, fear must have been a supporting factor. The many references to a pagan past, the identification with pagan ancestors, need hardly be stressed again. (Bishop Ipolyi concluded that the Magyars were already monotheists before accepting the cross,[100] and many of our legends would support him, but caution should be used in view of the romanticism of the age, especially the rationalistic romanticism of the Unitarian Baron Orbán.) That God was less important for the Saxons is also logical: they were converted long before the Székelys and before they came to Transylvania. The anxieties of their Christianization could not, therefore, be expressed in legends tied to their new homeland.

At the beginning of this study, the writer set out to analyze and compare the overall, collective supernatural world view of Transylvania's Saxons and Székelys, as portrayed in the legends Friedrich Müller and Balázs Orbán collected. That task is essentially done: not much else could be added without substantially exceeding the strict limits imposed on the thesis as a matter of practical necessity. Yet many questions have been raised

[100]Ipolyi, Magyar mythologia, passim.

here worthy of further pursuit, with implications going far beyond the borders of 19th century Transylvania. Thus it would be interesting to correlate the settlement history of Western Europe with the spread and intensity of the witch persecutions--to mention only the most spectacular problem touched upon in these pages. But there are many others that would be just as rewarding, and it is to be hoped that more attention will be devoted to the local legend and to subjects related to it in the future. Because folklore is not abstract, and the humanist owes it to himself to realize the fact. Its knowledge, properly used, can not only help us understand the past, but also predict how people will probably behave in the future. This is particularly vital to us today, when, more than ever, folklore is an applied art--manufactured and manipulated to achieve certain ends, from Watts to T'ien-an Men Square.

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APPENDIX

TRILINGUAL GLOSSARY OF GEOGRAPHIC NAMES APPEARING IN THE STUDY

German or Hung. Entry	German or Hung. Equivalent	Current Rumanian Name
Agnetheln	Szentágota	Agnita
Aldoboly	- - - - - -	Dobolii de Jos
Alsórákos	- - - - - -	Racoşul de Jos
Baierdorf	Királynémeti	Crainimat
Balánbánya	- - - - - -	Balan
Baróth	- - - - - -	Baraolt
Bereck	- - - - - -	Breţcu
Berekeresztur	- - - - - -	Bîra
Besenyő	- - - - - -	Pădurenii
Bikfalva	- - - - - -	Bicfalău
Birk	Petele	Petelea
Birthälm	Berethalom	Biertan
Bistritz	Beszterce	Bistriţa
Bodok	- - - - - -	Bodoc

Bodzaforduló	- - - - - -	Întorsura Buzăului
Bözödujfalu	- - - - - -	Bezidul Nou
Boós	Bos	Bozeni
Broos	Szászváros	Orăştie
Budak	Szászbudák	Budacul de Jos
Bükszád	- - - - - -	Bicsad
Bulkesch	Bolkács	Bălcaciu
Burghallen	Óvárhely	Orheiul Bistriţei
Buzd	Szászbuzd	Buzd
Csikrákos	- - - - - -	Racul
Csikszentdomokos	- - - - - -	Sîndominic
Csikszenttamás	- - - - - -	Tomeşti
Csomafalva	- - - - - -	Ciumani
Csomortán	- - - - - -	Şoimeni
Décsfalva	- - - - - -	Dejuţiu
Dürrbach	Dipse	Dipşa
Énlaka	- - - - - -	Inlăceni
Erdőszentgyörgy	- - - - - -	Sîngeorgiul de Pădur

Éresztevény	- - - - - -	Eresteghin
Etéd	- - - - - -	Atid
Farkaslaka	- - - - - -	Lupeni
Feldorf	Fületelke	Filitelnic
Firtosváralja	- - - - - -	Firtuşu
Fitód	- - - - - -	Fitod
Galt	Ugra	Ungra
Gelence	- - - - - -	Ghelinţa
Georgsdorf	Gergelyfája	Ungurei
Glogovitza	Kisgalgóc	Glogoveţ

Gödöllő--Name does not appear in geogr. dictionaries

Görgény	Görgen	Gurghiu
Grossschenk	Nagysink	Cincul
Hamlesch	Omlás	Amnaş
Haraj	- - - - - -	Harale
Harasztos	- - - - - -	Călăraşi
Hermannstadt	Nagyszeben	Sibiu
Hétfalu	- - - - - -	Săcele

Hetzeldorf	Ecel	Aţel
Holzmengen	Holzmány	Hosman
Homoródalmás	- - - - - -	Mereşti
Homoródszentpéter	- - - - - -	Petreni
Ikafalva	- - - - - -	Icafalău
Iszló	- - - - - -	Isla
Jaad	Jád	Livezile
Jedd	- - - - - -	Livezenii
Jobbágyfalva	- - - - - -	Valea
Kaisd	Szászkézd	Saschiz
Karácsonfalva	- - - - - -	Crăciunel
Kászonfeltiz	- - - - - -	Plăeşii de Sus
Kebele	- - - - - -	Ivăneşti
Kercsed	- - - - - -	Stejeriş
Kerz	Kerc	Cîrţa
Kézdiszentlélek	- - - - - -	Sînzieni
Kisborosnyó	- - - - - -	Boroşneul Mic
Kisgalambfalva	- - - - - -	Porumbenii Mic

Klein Logdes	Kisludas	Ludoşul Mic
Kleinschenk	Kissink	Cincşor
Klosdorf	Miklóstelke	Cloaşterf
Körispatak	- - - - - -	Valea Crişului
Köszvényesremete	- - - - - -	Eremitul
Kovászna	- - - - - -	Covasna
Kreisch	Keresd	Criş
Kronstadt	Brassó	Braşov
Lemhény	- - - - - -	Lemniu
Leschkirch	Ujegyház	Nocrich
Liewlang	Lemnek	Lovnic
Lisznyó	- - - - - -	Lisnău
Lőrincfalva	- - - - - -	Leordeni
Magyarbénye	Benden	Biia
Magyarhermány	- - - - - -	Herculian
Magyarós	- - - - - -	Măgherani
Makkfalva	- - - - - -	Ghindari
Maldorf	Domáld	Domald

Márófalva	- - - - - -	Satul Mare
Marienburg	Földvár	Feldioara
Marpod	Márpod	Marpod
Mehburg	Homoródbene	Beia
Meierpot--see Marpod		
Ménes (Mezőménes)	- - - - - -	Herghelia
Meschen	Muzsna	Moşna
Mettersdorf	Nagydemeter	Dumitra
Mezőbánd	- - - - - -	Band
Mezőkölpény	- - - - - -	Culpiu
Mezőmadaras	- - - - - -	Mădăraş
Mezősámsond	- - - - - -	Şincai
Miklósvár	- - - - - -	Micloşoara
Mühlbach	Szászsebes	Sebeş
Nadesch	Szásznádas	Nadaş
Nagykadács	- - - - - -	Cădaciul Mare
Nagygalambfalva	- - - - - -	Porumbenii Mari
Nagypatak	- - - - - -	Valea Mare

Nagysólymos	- - - - - -	Şoimoşul Mare
Neithausen	Netus	Netuş
Neudorf	Szászujfalu	Nouĭ Săsesc
Niedereidisch	Alsóidecs	Ideciul de Jos
Nyény	Thell (Kreuzburg)	Teliu
Nyomát	- - - - - -	Maiad
Oberneudorf	Szászujfalu	Satul Nou
Olasztelek	- - - - - -	Tălişoara
Oltszem	- - - - - -	Olteni
Oroszhegy	- - - - - -	Dealul
Parajd	- - - - - -	Praid

Pásztorbükki--Name does not appear in geogr. dictionaries

Patakfalva	- - - - - -	Văleni
Petersdorf	Péterfalva	Petriş
Prázsmár	Tartlau	Toarcla
Radeln	Rádas	Roadaş
Reps	Kőhalom	Rupea
Ród	Rod	Rod

Rosenau	Rozsnyó	Rîşnov
Sächsisch Regen	Szászrégen	Reghin
Sáromberke	Scharberg	Dumbrăvioara
Sasstschor	Szászcsór	Săsciori
Schaas	Segesd	Şaeş
Schässburg	Segesvár	Sighişoara
Schweischer	Sövényszeg	Fişer
Seiburg	Zsiberk	Jibert
Seligstatt	Boldogváros	Seliştat
Selye (Nyárádselye)	- - - - - -	Şilea Nirajului
Senndorf	Kiszsolna	Jelna
Siklód	- - - - - -	Şiclod
Somosd	- - - - - -	Cornești
Sóvárad	- - - - - -	Sărăţeni
Stolzenburg	Szelindek	Slimnic
Szacsva	- - - - - -	Saciova
Száldobos	- - - - - -	Doboşeni
Száltelek	- - - - - -	Ţiptelnic

Székelyders	- - - - - -	Dîrjiu
Székelykeresztur	Kreuz	Cristurul Secuiesc
Székelyszállás	- - - - - -	Săleşuri
Székelyudvarhely	Odorhellen	Odorhei
Szentábrahám	- - - - - -	Avrămeşti
Szentdemeter	- - - - - -	Dumitreni
Szentegyházas-Oláhfalu	- - - - - -	Vlăhiţa
Szentistván	- - - - - -	Ştefaneşti
Szentpéter (Barcaszentpéter)	Petersberg	Sînpetru
Szépviz	- - - - - -	Frumoasa
Szeretfalva	Reussen	Săreţel
Szotyor	- - - - - -	Coşeni
Talmesch	Talmács	Tălmaciu
Tekendorf	Teke	Teaca
Tordátfalva	- - - - - -	Turdeni
Torja	- - - - - -	Turia
Treppen	Tőrpény	Tărpiu
Ugra	- - - - - -	Valea Ugra

Ujfalu	Neudorf	Noul Săsesc
Ungersch	Sajómagyaros	Şieu-Măgheruş
Urbigen	Szászorbó	Gîrbova
Várfalva	- - - - - -	Moldovenești
Vargyas	- - - - - -	Vîrghiş
Véck	- - - - - -	Veţca
Weisskirch	Kisfehéregyház	Albeştii Bistriţei
Wermesch	Vermes	Vermiş
Zeiden	Feketehalom	Codlea
Zendresch	Szénaverös	Senereuş
Zetelaka	- - - - - -	Zetea
Zsákod	- - - - - -	Jacodeni

VITA

Louis J. Elteto was born in Márapócs, Szabolcs County, Hungary, on Dec. 8, 1938. In 1945 his family removed to Braunau/Inn, Upper Austria, where he attended Hungarian and German elementary schools. After emigrating to the United States in 1949, he went to the public schools of Warren County, Virginia and of Alliance, Ohio, from whose high school he graduated in 1956. After studying at Mt. Union College and at Fenn College, working in various capacities in industry and business and performing active duty in the Army, he entered Kent State University, where he earned his B.A. in 1961 and his M.A. in 1964 in German and Spanish. He spent 1963-64 studying on a U.S. Government (Fulbright) grant at the University of Munich, then served two years as instructor of German at Kent State University. In 1966 he was granted a teaching assistantship by the Department of Foreign Languages of Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, where he completed his coursework for the doctorate and took his general examinations in 1968, in German and linguistics. In 1968 he was awarded a second Fulbright grant for research in Rumania. He was appointed assistant professor in German by the University of Southwestern Louisiana in September, 1969. Since September, 1970, he has been teaching German and Hungarian at Portland State University, Portland, Oregon.

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